

THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Seventh Year of Issue

June, 1947

ASPECTS OF SOCIALIST ECONOMY—Colin Cameron
INTERIM BUDGET—L. E. Wismer



The Hutterites and Civil Liberties

DOROTHY GIFFEN



Newfoundland: Tenth Province?

EDITH FOWKE



FOUR POEMS
P. K. Page

ATOMIC POLICY
J. R. Stirrett



Vol. XXVII, No. 317

Toronto, Ontario, June, 1947

Twenty-five Cents

CONTENTS OF THIS ISSUE

| | |
|--|----|
| O CANADA | 50 |
| EDITORIALS | 51 |
| INTERIM BUDGET—L. E. Wismer | 54 |
| MAN OF THE WEEK—George Johnston | 54 |
| CANADA'S STRUGGLE FOR ATOMIC CONTROL J. R. Stirrett | 55 |
| THE HUTTERITES AND CIVIL LIBERTIES—Dorothy Giffen | 55 |
| ASPECTS OF A SOCIALIST ECONOMY—Colin Cameron | 57 |
| NEWFOUNDLAND: TENTH PROVINCE?—Edith Fowke | 59 |
| CIVIL SERVANTS AND POLITICS—Frank G. Hanson | 61 |
| DRAMA AND FILM REVIEW—D. Mosdell | 63 |
| SELF-PORTRAIT—Augustus John (Reproduction) | 63 |
| THE NEW BEDFORD—W. R. Sickert (Reproduction) | 63 |
| FESTIVAL POSTSCRIPT—Vincent Tovell | 64 |
| FOUR POEMS—P. K. Page | 65 |
| EARLY MORNING TEA—Laura Hunter | 66 |
| CORRESPONDENCE | 67 |
| POSTER CONTEST | 67 |
| RECORDINGS—Milton Wilson | 68 |
| MARY JONES—Alex Austin | 68 |

BOOKS REVIEWED

| | | |
|---|--------------------|----|
| REALLY THE BLUES | Rosemarie Schawlow | 68 |
| THE SHOWMAN OF VANITY FAIR | Desmond Pacey | 69 |
| ON THE RESOLUTION OF SCIENCE AND FAITH HUMAN DESTINY | | |
| THE SOURCE OF HUMAN GOOD | J. Line | 69 |
| SPINOZA | George Edison | 70 |
| TORY RADICAL | Desmond Pacey | 70 |
| THE CHILDREN | G. D. G. | 70 |
| AS THEY LIKED IT | R. S. Knox | 70 |
| THE FLAMING HOUR | Samuel Roddan | 71 |
| MIST IN THE TAGUS | H. M. M. | 71 |
| PAMPHLETS RECEIVED | | 71 |
| OF GUILT AND HOPE | John F. Davidson | 72 |
| THE INTELLECTUAL ADVENTURE OF ANCIENT MAN | Ronald J. Williams | 72 |
| THE SECURITIES BUSINESS COMES OF AGE | L. E. W. | 72 |
| COUNSELOR X | L. E. W. | 72 |
| KILVERT'S DIARY | F. E. L. P. | 72 |
| I GIVE YOU MY WORD | N. F. | 72 |
| IGLOO FOR THE NIGHT | D. M. LeBourdais | 72 |

STAMMERING CORRECTED: Modern scientific methods. Helpful 48-page booklet gives full information. Write today for FREE copy. William Dennison, 543 N. Jarvis Street, Toronto, Canada.

READ CCF NEWS, Canada's foremost CCF newspaper, published every Thursday by the CCF (B.C.-Yukon Section) Vancouver. "CCF News is a really live publication of inestimable value to all who are earnestly trying to 'Make this YOUR Canada'."—Mrs. Lucy L. Woodsworth, Toronto, Ont. Subscribe to CCF NEWS today. \$2 for ten months—\$1 for five months. CCF NEWS, 712 Holden Bldg., Vancouver, B.C.

WHAT'S NEW IN SASKATCHEWAN? Keep informed by reading "The Commonwealth," official weekly publication of the C.C.F. in Saskatchewan. \$2.00 per year—12 pages. Mail your remittance to: The Commonwealth, Commonwealth Building, Regina, Saskatchewan.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Please give old address as well when sending your change of address to the Circulation Dept. If your subscription has expired please renew now. Rates: One year \$3, Two years \$5.

THE CANADIAN FORUM

16 Huntley Street

Toronto 5, Canada

O CANADA

Senator T. A. Crerar, Manitoba, and Senator Ralph Horner, Saskatchewan, told the Senate committee on immigration this morning that chances for a new immigrant to earn wealth in Canada were good as ever. "If an immigrant is worth his salt, he can run a nickel into \$10,000 in five years," said Senator Horner, citing his own example. (Regina Leader Post)

Mr. Kerr told the president he felt it was about time to return to the \$2 quarterly dividend on shares. "The \$90,000,000 surplus presents an invitation to politicians for higher taxes and is often most embarrassing to the shareholders. I feel it should be distributed. It provides ammunition for labor leaders. If the shareholders don't get it, labor will." (Report of the annual meeting of the shareholders of International Nickel Co., Toronto Star)

'Flu Fatalities Decline Sharply; Divorce Rate Up.
(Headline, The Vancouver News-Herald)

Ald. R. A. C. Dewar was the strongest opponent of the playgrounds expenditures, claiming that when he was a child supervised playgrounds were unknown. He insisted as each new item came up that a halt should be called and that there are already too many playgrounds. (Victoria Daily Times)

Girls Prefer Life in Jail to Homes in Slum Section.
(Headline, Globe and Mail)

Criticism of trade unionism by Dean Cecil Swanson of Christ Church Cathedral, highlighted colorful and impressive commencement exercises for Vancouver General Hospital graduates in St. Andrews-Wesley Church Tuesday night.

"I am alarmed at the organization, the unionism, that is creeping into many professions," Dean Swanson told the audience of more than 1000 persons who packed the church to honor the graduates. "High pay and shorter hours are being bought at a sacrifice of religious freedom. I hope and pray that this profession will not fall into this open and obvious snare." (Vancouver Sun)

Vogue reports: "The Young, Covered Look." And Eaton's follows through! Jackets buttoned up . . . shirts to-the-neck . . . new modesty in beach-wear . . . this is the trend in May 15 Vogue. And these are the play-clothes that show it . . . that shelter you from too much sun and wind . . . that give the new young, "covered" look. (Advertisement, Globe and Mail)

What Do You Think? . . . of Canada? (Asked during Canada Week on the Boardwalk in Atlantic City, N.J.) Mickey Rothman, Stenographer, Philadelphia: . . . Down here we consider Canadians as neighbors, not foreigners, like the English or French. I'd really like to go on a trip to the larger Canadian cities, such as Quebec or Montreal. A lot of my friends have visited these cities. I've heard of Toronto, too, but never heard of anyone going there. (Montreal Standard)

G. Blair Gordon, past president of the Canadian Manufacturers association, said reduction in personal income taxes should help to keep up purchasing power of the public in the face of higher prices. (Toronto Daily Star)

May we suggest that George Drew has taken the first real step to apprise the people of Canada of the socialistic reefs onto which the CBC is piloting our Ship of State? May we suggest that the collective voice of free radio—louder even than that of the Trans-Canada network—could and should continue the task Mr. Drew has begun? May we suggest that it is its duty to see to it, right now, that every Canadian who owns a radio becomes acquainted with the true state of affairs, to the end that the plain expression of the will of the people may not be drowned out by the petulant voices of carping minorities? (Richard G. Lewis, in Canadian Broadcaster)

"I have heard that Reeve MacDonald wants to put a gambling establishment where our hall is," remarked a member of the delegation of the United Ukrainian Canadians.

"If I gambled right now, you would be executed at dawn. You're the biggest — I ever saw," retorted Reeve MacDonald. "You're a Communist. I can tell by your eyes." (Toronto Star)

Employers who couldn't make money in 1946 are poor prospects as employers. The outlook would be poor for Canada. The great depression of the 'thirties would not have happened if employers had been able to make money. (The Printed Word)

This month's prize of a six months' subscription goes to W. K. Bryden, Regina, Sask. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication.

THE CANADIAN FORUM

Vol. XXVII, No. 317 23

Founded 1920

Toronto, Ontario, June, 1947

Economic Realities

Having failed to reach agreement in Moscow, the foreign secretaries are to try again in November in London. Meanwhile the urgent problems of the world are not likely to improve, and Mr. Bevin himself made it clear that "if they are not brought to a much more satisfactory conclusion at the London conference no one can prophesy what course the world will take." In particular, the food prospects for next winter in central Europe are appalling.

In such a situation one grasps eagerly at the faintest signs of possible improvement in relations between the big powers. Yet it is hard to get very elated at Molotov's acceptance of the American suggestions for a broader participation of native parties in preparatory discussions toward the setting up of a "democratic" government in Korea. The word democracy is liable to such divergent interpretations, and any real progress is still far off.

Much more important, however, are reports of real progress toward a trade treaty between Russia and Britain. Real improvement of the flow of goods between the two countries would be a real contribution to better understanding. It is absolutely essential for Britain to secure a larger proportion of her imports from non-dollar areas, for she is eating into the American loan at a terrifying rate. The British have found the terms of the loan very onerous in the restrictions these terms put on trade elsewhere, and any mention of a further American loan is very unpopular with them. For certain products, Russia is the logical alternative, and successful trade relations might well lead to closer understanding. There is little hope of the United States and Russia reaching a better understanding directly. Better trade relations between Russia and Britain, however distasteful to American financial interests, would be a blessing for everybody, including the people of the United States.

Palestine

The appointment of Canada to the UN eleven-nation Sub-Commission, set up to investigate the Palestine situation, makes the problem of that unhappy country a Canadian political issue. Unfortunately, there is no set of "true" and "democratic" political principles from which we can derive a solution. Both the Arabs and Jews have an almost unanswerable case. Palestine has been an Arab country for a thousand years. It is, however, the only country whose economy is prepared to absorb the hundreds of thousands of Jews who must emigrate from Europe or face gradual annihilation.

Great Britain, which originally undertook the Palestine mandate in order to keep control of the Near East, is no longer in an economic or military position to do so. The 100,000 troops, which she is forced to maintain in Palestine to keep the peace, constitute an unbearable burden on the weakened British economy. Any plan which England alone might have imposed would have required retaining of this army against Arab or Jewish terrorists. No partition would satisfy both of the national communities in the country.

It is highly doubtful that the UN Sub-Commission will turn up with any new solution, which has not been rejected by the Jews or Arabs in the past, unless the UN should

decide to repeat the Trieste experiment. Palestine would then be set up as a Free State under the direct control of the UN.

Instead of becoming an independent Jewish or Arab country, Palestine would be the first nation to submit its complete sovereignty to the world government. The UN constitution for Palestine should permit free Jewish and Arab immigration into the country. An international loan to the new Free State for the proposed Jordan Valley authority, would enable Palestine to absorb all the remaining Jews of Europe plus hundreds of thousands of Arabs. Neither group would need fear eventual domination by the other, as the UN government would be permanent. The dream of a Jewish Homeland in which the Jews will not fear persecution would be fulfilled and the impoverished Arab masses of the Near East would also gain greatly by the raising of their economic standards.

Henry Wallace

Henry Wallace's recent triumphant tour around the capitals of Europe indicates that many European socialist and progressive leaders consider him to be the spokesman of the general American left-wing movement. In Canada, many CCF'ers look upon Wallace with sympathy for they have the impression that he favors the same things as the CCF.

It may come as a shock for these people to learn that Henry Wallace has been repudiated and attacked by practically every socialist and progressive group in the United States. The Socialist Party of the U.S., the Social Democratic Federation, the Liberal Party of New York, and the Americans for Democratic Action, the organization of left-wing New Dealers led by Mrs. Roosevelt, have all challenged Wallace's right to speak for the American left.

The reasons for this rejection of Wallace by American leftists are many. In domestic politics, Wallace has never been more than a mild liberal. As Secretary of Agriculture under Roosevelt, he was under continuous criticism from left-wing New Dealers for compromising with the big farming interests against the share-croppers and small farmers in his administration of the A.A.A. Later, when Secretary of Commerce, he filled his department with conservative business men. Wallace's recent description of himself as a "Progressive Tory" was not a joke, but simple statement of fact.

Though a conservative and an anti-socialist in domestic affairs, Wallace has somehow succeeded in becoming a fellow-traveller of the Soviet Union in foreign affairs. In his famous Madison Square Garden speech of last August, he demanded that the democratic, peace-loving United States free herself from the clutches of imperialistic war-mongering England and unite with the Soviet Union for peace. In England last month, Wallace urged democratic-socialist Britain to stop following the lead of the imperialistic United States, and to join with Russia in foreign affairs. Wallace now wears glasses which enable him to see imperialism in the moves of Marshall or Bevin, but only self-defence in Russia's expansionist activities.

As a result of his queer political twists and turns, Wallace has succeeded in isolating himself from the genuine American left, and in becoming the political captive, at least for

the time being, of the Communists and their fellow-travellers in the Progressive Citizens of America. CCF'ers should beware of mistaking the voice of Henry Wallace, for the voice of a genuine American people's movement. Such a movement is yet to be born, but it will never come under the leadership of Henry Wallace.

Nova Scotia Settlement

Nova Scotia's coal miners are going back to work with a settlement that is a step on the way to wage equality with western miners, however short it may be of their initial demands. The original wage demand was for an increase of \$2.50 a day, which would have brought their wages up to the Western level. During the strike the miners' demands were lessened to \$1.40 a day. The final settlement provides for an immediate increase of \$1.00 a day and the payment of the additional 40 cents per day in six months (December 1) provided that production is back to the 1939 level. The 1939 level provision is probably company face-saving and does not represent a speed-up of the Maritime miners who work as hard as any miners on the continent. Dosco production will rise when Dosco management faces up to the facts that production and efficiency are primarily management functions. Labor cannot compel the company to adopt an enlightened policy; labor can co-operate with the company when it sees fit to inaugurate such a policy. To expect such a policy to emerge from Dosco, however, would be the height of optimism. Ultimately, we believe, Nova Scotia coal mines will have to be nationalized.

Less spectacular than wage increases, but equally important, is the fact that the Dominion Coal Company agreed in principle to the union's demand for joint union-company participation in a pension fund. War took the youngest and the strongest men out of the mines of Nova Scotia. Here, as in Britain, these young men are not returning to the mines if they can possibly avoid it. The hard job of mining the Maritimes' coal has fallen on the shoulders of men who are old or who could not meet army medical requirements. Hence the importance the miners attach to the settlement of their pension and welfare fund demands.

If Dosco wants production it will have to modernize its machinery and its thinking apparatus. If Dosco wants young men it will have to raise wages and shorten hours. If Canada wants coal it will have to take over Dosco—sooner or later.

Privy Council Appeals

For years the abolition of appeals to the Privy Council has been discussed in the House of Commons and supported by spokesmen of all the major parties. The Hon. Mr. Cahan introduced a bill to abolish the appeals in the spring of 1939, and his presentation of the case still remains a classic analysis of the reasons for abolition. On the motion of Mr. Lapointe, who however expressed general agreement, the bill was referred to the Supreme Court for a decision on the constitutional question as to whether it was within the power of the Canadian parliament. The Supreme Court decision was favorable, but an appeal was then taken to the Privy Council itself. The hearing of this appeal was delayed owing to the war, and the judgment given early this year. As our readers will remember, the law lords declared that the abolition of appeals to the Privy Council in London was "wholly intra vires of the parliament of Canada," and since then the matter has been entirely one for the House of Commons in Ottawa to decide.

Yet in spite of the fact that there is general agreement, both among lawyers and politicians, that the abolition of these appeals is necessary, and a natural and overdue stage in the growth of Canada as a free nation; in spite of the fact that prominent Liberal spokesmen, including Mr. King, have at various times expressed agreement with such a measure, the government has made no move. Nor does the conservative opposition show any inclination to follow the example of Mr. Cahan. However, a bill has now been presented for the CCF group by Mr. Jaenicke of Kindersley. Being an opposition bill, however, it is naturally a private bill, and will be put off this session. So far it is interesting to see that the first opposition has been left to Mr. T. L. Church, who can be relied on to oppose abolition as a fatal consequence of the Statute of Westminster, and to satisfy the unthinking imperialists without committing even the conservative party, since no party takes him seriously, not even his own. It will be interesting to see what position the government supporters will take upon a bill that should have been their own. Mr. Jaenicke is to be congratulated in bringing this matter again into the open.

A Peloponnesian War?

The half-hearted decision of Nova Scotia to accept an agreement with Ottawa ranges all the small provinces, however grudgingly, on the side of Canadianism against the determined provincialism of Ontario and Quebec. Just before Mr. Drew left on his Scarlet-Pimpernel expedition to rescue suffering Englishmen from the socialist yoke, he made a speech in which he revealed his motive for staying outside the dominion-provincial agreement. It is part of his crusade to save the country from communism. A rapid rereading of Lenin's *State and Revolution* reveals no foreshadowing of the Dominion proposals as an instrument for the establishing of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If Mr. Drew's analysis contains no hidden flaws, Mr. King must be recognized as the most original crypto-Communist who ever jailed a Russian spy.

Our learned friend went further, and explained his own notion of a workable federal system. He told his audience that the ancient Greeks had the first successful federal union, which only broke down when an attempt was made to centralize it. It is not to be thought of that the Minister of Education of Ontario is unaware that the states of ancient Greece were entirely sovereign and had no political connection with each other whatsoever. Even his statement that Rome, which we had always thought was a municipality, was originally such another federal union, should not impel us to dismiss him as an illiterate; perhaps he will soon authorize a new ancient history textbook to clear up the point. On the strength of the Greek analogy, he must wish to abolish all central government and make each province apply for separate membership in the United Nations. Which, of course, will be one in the eye for Mr. Gromyko.

There is still a possibility that the taxpayer will soon realize that he is a citizen of his province and of Canada simultaneously, and that provincial autonomy is therefore not necessarily synonymous with his own freedom. The rugged individualists of the old parties may be compelled to remember that Canada consists of individuals before it consists of provinces.

Meanwhile, Mr. Macdonald of Nova Scotia strikes a Gaelic attitude and cries to his former colleagues that "you have not seen the last of my bonnets and me." The Peloponnesian War seems to be just around the corner.

The high Tories who reign over Toronto's city hall seem determined that their city shall live up to its worst reputation. Periodically they show themselves in their true authoritarian colors, and take some action that would be ridiculous only, if it did not remind us of how close to fascism Toryism can be. And every time, in their panicky reaction against any criticism of what they call British institutions, they show a completely un-British readiness to restrict freedom of speech and to silence or repress critics. Congenital flag-wavers, they do not understand the flag they wave. If they did, they would not disgrace it.

The latest attack of panic was when Paul Robeson visited Toronto in the middle of May to sing at a concert arranged by (and presumably for) the communist *Daily Tribune*. Robeson came to sing, but it was feared that he might also speak. So the mayor hastily and solemnly summoned a special meeting of the police commission, where it was solemnly decided that Robeson could sing, but that he must not speak. The Mayor has since stated that, according to the minutes, no official decision was taken, but everybody agrees an understanding was given that there would be no speech. Robeson of course selected such songs as made a speech quite unnecessary, the Communists got a tremendous amount of free publicity, and Toronto was made to look sillier than ever.

A hasty, if unavailing, protest was made to the police commission, and we are glad to see that the president of the Ontario CCF was among those protesting. Said Mr. Brewin: "The argument against communism is that it seeks to destroy our way of life. This sort of intolerant attempt to restrict freedom of speech is quite as much an attack on our way of life as anything else could be." He might have added that it was also more dangerous, for there are more Tories than Communists in Toronto. Though even the *Globe and Mail* has since condemned the action of the authorities, and suggested that the Communists themselves were at the bottom of it. That ought to please the mayor.

The main significance of this absurd incident is that it is only one more sign of the anti-Communist hysteria that is sweeping the North American continent. Unless overcome, it will set out to fight fire with fire. And then good-bye democracy.

We all know by now how the British economy depends on coal. It is encouraging to find that coal production reached, the first week in May, the highest output in five years: 4,107,000 tons. Since the beginning of the year, recruits to the coal industry number 19,000. The introduction of the five day week was evidently justified, and the government is making further plans for better conditions, including experiments with fluorescent lighting which have proved both safe and successful and will revolutionize life in the mines by artificial daylight.

The Saskatchewan Farm Securities Act, by which a farmer cannot be evicted from his home quarter section, and which also relieves him of payment on principal in years of crop-failure, has now been declared ultra vires by the Supreme Court. The government is appealing to the Privy Council. Premier Douglas has declared that even if the appeal fails, other ways will be found of protecting the farmer. Whatever the law may be, no one denies that the accumulation

of debt in bad years is totally unfair, and that the situation must somehow be remedied. The Cabinet has the power of moratorium, but that of course can only give temporary alleviation, and does not solve the problem.

Premier Drew's idea of helping Britain in her desperate need of manpower seems to be to go over to England, where he is at the time of writing, in order to tempt as many British as possible to emigrate to Ontario. Immigration is of course a matter for the Dominion, but it is an old technique of the Ontario Premier to hide his own failures by loud-mouthed advice to others. Or perhaps he agrees with Mr. L. K. Skey, M.P., that Britain is at present an occupied country, occupied by an alien government, and that we must give the British freedom they will be denied at home. Mr. Skey evidently has little respect for the clearly expressed voice of an electorate. It may be worth noting this in time.

Vol. 1, No. 9, June, 1921, *The Canadian Forum*.

Any one who upholds training for women, whether they are industrial or professional workers, is at once met with the objection: "But women are not permanent; they marry and give up their positions." This is indisputable, but, on the other hand, there is an increasing tendency among women who are ambitious and fond of the career which they have chosen, to try to find some solution to this particular problem. Several graduates of Canadian universities are at present practising law or medicine in partnership with their husbands. Their experience, however, leaves unsolved the difficulties of those for whom an interruption of their career would mean a fatal loss of business connection or technical skill. Whatever one's views as to the compatibility of a career and marriage, one is apt to receive rather a shock at the zeal of the munition worker who, during the war, asked at an employment bureau for night work because "she was going to be married the next week and didn't want to take a day off."—From "The Woman Expert" by Elsinore McPherson.



Interim Budget

► FOR MOST CANADIAN wage earners personal income tax will be reduced about 25 per cent beginning July 1. That was the real news in the budget delivered in the House of Commons on Tuesday, April 29, by the Minister of Finance, the Honorable Douglas Abbott. As an offset, the price of butter advanced 10 cents a pound the very next day, April 30. The Excess Profits Tax will be removed entirely on December 31 of this year.

Comparing the tax that will be paid by a married man with two children of Family Allowance age in 1947 under the combined effect of the old 1947 rate for six months and the new 1947 rate for six months, and the tax to be paid by the same man in 1948, if his income is \$2,000, it appears that the total tax saving amounts to only \$16.00. When the price of butter went up 10 cents a pound on April 30 the same man's family expenses advanced \$10.00 a year on the minimum scale of living to produce health and decency according to "The Cost of Living" survey published by the Welfare Council of Toronto.

Mr. Abbott pointed out to the House that his tax policy was mainly based on other than financial considerations. The proximity of the United States was the large factor. Said he: "It would appear that if Canadians are asked to carry tax burdens which, after making due allowances for lower cost of doing business or other offsetting factors, are significantly heavier than those imposed by the United States, there is a risk of serious drain of Canadian personnel to the south for this reason alone."

Whether in comparison with the present tax rates in the United States or with the new rates now before Congress, the new Canadian rates of personal income tax are lower until approximately the \$3,000 income level is reached. (This comparison is based on the income and new tax rates applicable for a married man without dependents.) In the United States a married man pays income tax on a \$1,200 income. Under the new scales contained in the tax bill now before Congress the same man will continue to pay income tax but at a lower rate. No province in Canada now levies a personal income tax but many states do. The man earning less than \$3,000 in Canada is thus reaching a preferred position on this continent after July 1. The clamor for reductions in income tax using the United States for comparison will thus presumably come in the future from those in the higher income brackets.

However much a socialist would prefer the application of personal income taxes as a means of meeting the needs of the national budget to continuous levying of unseen excise, sales and other taxes, it must be admitted that this apparently is not the most satisfactory approach in a private enterprise economy. The same can be said of the excess profits tax. The stimulus of private enterprise is profits and more profits—profits without taxes, if possible. The consumer must pay the taxes under private enterprise; that means the small wage earner. And he does. Through the multiplicity of unseen and hidden taxes imposed as excise and customs duties, through excise taxes (the tax on a package of cigarettes costing 33 cents is about 21 cents), corporation income taxes, excess profits taxes, and so on, the consumer foots the national tax bill, for they must be included in the price of the goods or services he buys. Only under socialism can this condition be reversed in the interest of the wage earner.

Some speakers seem to be dreaming of a return to the budgetary conditions of 1939 and the pre-war years when taxes were much less onerous than now. Certainly they must be dreaming if the figures are considered. Since 1939 the net debt of the Dominion has increased to \$13,069,000,-

000. The annual interest charges on the federal debt in 1939 were \$127,995,617. In 1947 they are \$416,035,000. That last figure is enough surely to shatter any dream of return to 1939 revenue needs by the federal treasury. In 1939 the total expenditures were only \$553,063,097.

That great increase in national debt is the result of the war. The debt and its annual interest cost will remain as a first charge against the federal revenues for a very long time. In the same period, from 1939 to 1947, the total federal outlay for old-age and blind pensions increased from \$29,043,639 to only \$35,992,000. This says in simple figures that the thousands of old-age and blind pensioners of Canada must live on mere pittance far below the level that might conceivably give them a reasonable standard of living. The majority of people in this country want that condition changed. When they get their demands, the figure for old-age and blind pensions will increase to at least ten times the 1947 figure, and that new outlay will have to be met from tax revenues.

The federal government has entered into new tax agreements with six of the nine provinces, and in the last few days the seventh has indicated that it too will sign a new agreement. The Minister of Finance pointed out in his budget address that the deals with the six provinces would involve new net outlays by the Dominion of about \$58,000,000. This is not included in the budget. As the full complement of provinces sign the new agreements, the total new obligation of the federal treasury will amount to about \$227,000,000 annually. This additional outlay must be met from taxes.

The 1947 budget is an interim budget. The war expenditures are fast disappearing. The after-war expenditures are declining but much more slowly. The new post-war expenditures involved in better economic arrangements and a wider measure of social security are about to make their appearance.

The 1947 budget is also a private enterprise, capitalist budget. The financial policies of the Liberal Government have been shaped by big business. The relinquishment of price controls, the removal of subsidies, and the handing over of war plants and equipment to private hands are all part of the overall plans to leave the business and economy of Canada in the planless, haphazard lap of monopoly and private enterprise. What there is in the budget to suggest some effort to improve the economy through better tax arrangements between the Dominion and the provinces, which may in time lead to broader agreements providing for the development of national social security and health measures, is there because of the pressure of socialist and progressive groups.

The 1947 Abbott budget is simply a financial statement. Nothing more. There is nothing in it to suggest that the federal administration has as yet begun to think in terms of "humanity first."

L. E. WISMER.

Man of the Week

(The cover, *Time*, March 17, 1947)

How comforting it is to hear
Professor Toynbee's voice declare
Our civilization is not doomed—
Not inexorably doomed:
He's studied it and ought to know!
It gives us heart to carry on,
To fix the fire and mow the lawn,
And bring our children up so they
Can fix the fire in their day:
He's worked it out; it must be so!

George Johnston.

Canada's Struggle for Atomic Control

J. R. Stirrett

► IN HIS rectorial address on courage, Sir J. M. Barrie pictures a guest having breakfast at 10 Downing Street with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister passes the toast-rack. Says the suspicious guest to himself: "Now what did he mean by that?"

On the world stage in the atomic era, Canada establishes meteorological stations on her Arctic islands, the United States builds a new landing field on the borders of Maine, Great Britain imports a thousand tons of uranium ore. From the perspective of Moscow, the suspicious observer of these events asks himself: What do they mean by that? Are these apparently unrelated moves by the three war-time atomic partners part of a sinister plan to destroy Holy Russia and its communist way of life and thereby gain world mastery?

From the perspective of Ottawa, Washington, or London a similar observer witnesses the importation into Russian atomic laboratories of over two hundred German nuclear physicists. "What do the Russians mean by that?" he asks himself. "Surely that move by Russia means that the atomic armament race is on in dead earnest. Isn't it high time we completed our plans for the coming atomic war?"

This game of suspicion-mongering goes gaily on, and has played havoc with Canada's struggle to establish international control over atomic energy. Every time Canada's atomic delegate, General A. G. L. McNaughton, votes against Russia along with the American delegate, Warren Austin, the Russians are confirmed in their suspicion that the proposed International Atomic Development Authority will be controlled by the United States. To break the present atomic deadlock, Canadian atomic policy must first of all be manifestly independent. The atomic deadlock exists today because the Russian Politburo fears that the proposed ADA will be controlled by the United States. So repulsive to Russian patriotism is the picture of the inspectors of such an ADA foot-loose in Holy Russia that it is proper to assume that Russia fears an American-controlled ADA more than she fears the bomb itself.

What are the elements of an independent Canadian atomic policy? Canada already stands committed to the establishment of a world Atomic Authority as proposed in the Lilienthal Report. That means that Canada's prime objective is to vest in a world authority exclusive power over all "dangerous" fissionable products, and to restrict the domestic use of atomic energy in each country to "denatured" products. To this extent, Canada, the United States and Great Britain are atomically *ad idem*.

But where Canadian atomic policy properly parts company with that of her war-time atomic partners is in respect of the powers and constitution of the proposed ADA. Here the problem of atomic energy control, which is undoubtedly the most crucial political problem facing the world today, becomes merged in the general problem of the relations of the Western World with Russia. The insistence by the United States on the eradication of the veto power from the constitution of the ADA must, for example, be regarded as a somewhat clumsy and ill-timed attempt to by-pass the Charter of the United Nations. It is all very well for the United States to urge the eradication of the veto power if she is assured of majority control of the ADA. Canadian atomic diplomats must take account of legitimate Russian suspicions as a minority member designate of the proposed authority.

Canada enjoys material power and prestige in world politics at the present time chiefly because of her status as a war-time atomic partner, and her possession of uranium mineral at Great Bear Lake and her twenty-three million dollar plutonium plant at Chalk River. Canada's delegation to the Atomic Energy Commission at Lake Success has to date been chiefly distinguished for its technical skill. General A. G. L. McNaughton, the chief delegate and president of the Canadian Atomic Energy Board, classifies more as an "atomic scientist" than as an "atomic statesman." What appears to be needed to make Canadian atomic policy effective on the world stage is the addition to Canada's atomic team of several outstanding political scientists. The control of atomic energy is fundamentally a political or moral problem, not a technological one. If Canadian atomic policy is to be bold, independent, and effective toward Russia, it must be formulated from day to day by Canadians who are thoroughly rooted and grounded in the politics of atomic energy.

The Hutterites and Civil Liberties

Dorothy Giffen

► ON APRIL 1, 1947, Royal Assent was given in Alberta to a bill restricting the right of Hutterites and Doukhobors to acquire land. At present in Manitoba a Special Committee of the Legislature is investigating "the Hutterian problem in the Province of Manitoba." Once again the Hutterian Brothers, a small sect numbering between six and seven thousand members in the world, are suffering discrimination because of their steadfast determination to live according to their interpretation of the Scriptures. The singling out of a minority group for special investigation, and the passage of legislation restricting their right to buy land, are invasions of civil liberties which by implication threaten the rights of all minority groups.

The steady growth of Hutterite colonies in these two provinces, combined with the concentration in certain districts which lends a specious impression of size and numbers, has given rise to the local protests culminating in legislative action. Pacifism is a fundamental tenet of the Hutterian faith and this has focalized the protest in the war period. The majority of anti-Hutterites who contend that the Brothers have been able to expand their holdings because their young men did not go to war overlook the fact that Hutterites who were called up accepted alternative service without question. Later in the war some of the Hutterites, like other farmers, were granted exemptions but in the early years the women had to do men's work in the fields in many colonies. In addition, the Hutterites produced considerable quantities of food and contributed to the Red Cross and other charitable drives.

The displacement of the less thrifty farmers of British origin by those of other ethnic origins is a continuing process in the prairie provinces, but the Hutterites are particularly vulnerable to retaliation because of their distinctive way of life and success in maintaining it. Their Christian communism is decried as "un-Canadian" by those who are alarmed at their economic success. Local business men frequently oppose the Hutterites because, like other co-operatives, they enjoy the economies of bulk purchase of some goods. That Hutterites do not vote is used along

with their pacifist beliefs as an argument in supporting the contention that they are not "good citizens." The fact that the Hutterites are law-abiding and rarely charged on the state is overlooked. Each colony looks after its own aged and disabled, and neither old-age pensions nor family allowances are accepted. Nor do they contribute to the overcrowding of mental hospitals, since the emotional and economic security of their system is reflected in freedom from mental illness and suicide. Numerous other minor charges against them, usually based on stereotyped misconceptions and all irrelevant to the issue of civil liberties, are cited by their opponents.

The Hutterian Brothers are members of a Protestant sect which had its origins in the Anabaptist movement of the early sixteenth century. From Switzerland, the Austrian Alps and Moravia the faithful came together and as early as 1528 they differentiated themselves from other Anabaptist sects by their acceptance of the principle of community of goods. The beliefs in non-resistance and simple living were shared with the Mennonites. Until 1770 when they secured a haven in Russia they suffered persecution and migration rather than compromise on these fundamental beliefs. When their privileges in Russia were revoked a hundred years later they migrated to the United States and founded three *Bruderhofs* in South Dakota.

The first Hutterite colonies to establish permanent residence in Canada came in 1918, originally establishing ten colonies in Alberta and three in Manitoba. At that time they were promised exemption from military service by the federal government, but this was cancelled in 1919 after strong protests had been sent to Ottawa, particularly by the Great War Veterans Association and by the Winnipeg branch of the Canadian Club. This put the Brethren on the same footing as other conscientious objectors. By 1947 their high rate of natural increase, as well as some later migration, has resulted in their growth to eighteen colonies in Manitoba with a total population of approximately 2300, and in Alberta thirty-four colonies with 4000 members.

As a background to understanding the situation, the Hutterite way of life should be briefly described. Each of the colonies, a completely communal farming unit, is autonomous, although there is consultation and visiting between them. Each family of the colony occupies a separate apartment within a communal dwelling unit, but meals are served in a common dining hall. There is a high degree of division of labor, and a rotation of tasks means that the less congenial jobs are shared by all. Although both farm and kitchen are highly mechanized, the use of technical devices for pleasure, such as the automobile and radio, is eschewed. Many of the beliefs are those emphasized by other fundamentalist religions: they believe it wrong to smoke, attend picture shows, gamble or dance. The traditional dress, which is similar for all persons of the same age and sex, serves to distinguish the Hutterites when they are outside the colony. As a pattern for living Hutterite culture is highly explicit and leaves little area for individual choice.

Hutterite government is frequently misinterpreted as authoritarian by outsiders, partly because of the use in English of the unfortunate term "boss" to apply to their managers. In reality the government is clearly democratic. The governing body or "headquarters" of the community consists of the minister and four or five elders who are usually also the managers. All important officers of the colony are elected by a majority vote of the baptized males. There is little competition for office, but it is regarded as the duty of a Hutterite man to accept any position to which he is elected. The business manager or "boss" administers all the work and financial affairs of the colony. Under him

there is a "farm boss," or foreman, and the bosses of specific farm operations such as poultry or cattle. Among the women there is a kitchen boss who provides the continuity necessary in preparing meals for the colony and frequently a garden boss. Executive offices carry no extra rewards. Every individual in the colony is entitled to the same amount of food and clothing, as well as a small amount of spending money each month. This system has worked well for some centuries, which may surprise the Chamber of Commerce psychologists who insist that the prospect of unlimited exploitation is the *sine qua non* of human action.

In the past, colonies have incorporated in order to reconcile their belief in community of goods with the legal requirements in regard to property-holding and taxation. Last year, in Manitoba, three colonies were refused incorporation by the Private Bills Committee of the Legislature, and the unincorporated daughter colonies are still operating under the charters of the mother colonies. Under one of these acts a colony has the same rights and liabilities as other corporations; in addition it is specified that private property of members is to become common property on admission to membership and that members are to render services without compensation. The act also specifies that members who refuse to abide by the rules of the corporation may be expelled by a majority vote of the male members and that members who are expelled or leave, or their heirs, are not entitled to any property of the corporation. This last clause is the one their critics find most objectionable. However, every Hutterite understands this thoroughly and accepts the conditions before baptism, which usually takes place between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one. It would be impossible (and foreign to their thinking) to reckon in monetary terms the contribution of any individual to the communal undertaking. Actually, few Hutterites leave the colony and most of those who do, eventually return, since the outside world seems cold and lonely after the gregarious colony life.

The Hutterites obey all the laws of the country, although they would certainly accept persecution and migration rather than obey any arbitrary edicts which conflicted with their fundamental tenets. Contrary to popular belief, the children attend schools which conform to the provincial regulations, and are taught by non-Hutterite teachers. However, like many other ethnic groups, they are taught to read and write in the language of their forefathers, in classes held outside regular school hours.

Agriculture is fundamental to the Hutterite way of life: to deprive them of the right to buy land would eventually force them to migrate. Although there is no exact maximum figure at which a colony splits and forms a daughter colony, it is rare in this country for a colony to grow beyond two hundred souls before separating. The high birth rate of the Hutterites has meant that all the money acquired by the colonies in Canada, beyond that required for their simple meals, has gone into land and equipment for new colonies. The opponents of the Hutterites, in citing the amount of land which they hold, neglect to mention that they support more people on a given acreage than does the average farmer. In Manitoba, land owned by Hutterites averages about twenty-seven acres per person, considerably less than the figure for the ordinary farmer on similar land.

The wartime Land Sales Prohibition Act of 1944, in Alberta, prohibiting the Hutterites from buying or leasing more land, presaged the legislative investigation and passing of permanent restrictive legislation this year. This legal discrimination is not inconsistent with the strain of anti-semitism found in Alberta's dominant political party, or the record of the government in banning two films exposing

racial fallacies on the grounds that Alberta children should not be exposed to "the heresies of racial equality."

The new Act in Alberta makes it illegal for any group of persons or colony to acquire communal property within forty miles of an existing colony, acquire any area of land larger than 6400 acres, or for any existing colony to increase its acreage beyond that leased and used on March 1, 1944. The definition of a colony in the Act is particularly significant. The original Bill was worded as follows: "'Colony' means a number of persons who hold land or any interest therein whether as owners, lessees or otherwise, and whether in the name of trustees or as a corporation or otherwise as communal property and includes a number of persons who propose to acquire land to be held in such a manner." When it was realized that the legislation thus worded would apply also to certain monastic religious orders the pseudo-impartiality of the wording was quickly rectified by the following addition: "and includes Hutterites or Hutterian Brethren and Doukhobors but shall not include any church or other religious organization or congregation." The Doukhobors were evidently thrown in for good measure: they do not appear to have entered the witch hunt until the last lap.

In Manitoba the Hutterites have become a public issue, through the efforts of a group of farmers and business men in the district where most of the colonies are located. Two local protest meetings in March led to the appointment, on a private member's motion, of a legislative committee whose membership would seem to be weighted against the Hutterites. Two CCF members were included to give the customary representation, but at least five of the others had previously made public utterances unfavorable to the Hutterites. While this theoretically impartial committee was holding public hearings, one member wrote a strongly anti-Hutterite letter to the *Winnipeg Tribune*.

Despite the ominous speed with which the issue has arisen in Manitoba, the protest of liberals has been sufficient to give hope that discriminatory legislation may be averted in that province. Within a few days of its appointment the committee held three public hearings in rapid succession. The anti-Hutterite representation was given by a well-rehearsed delegation of farmers, business men and veterans from the district where most of the Manitoba colonies are located. The arguments of the frustrated veterans proved upon analysis to be damning evidence of the inadequate provisions and lack of administrative foresight under the Veterans Land Act rather than condemnation of the Hutterites. On the other side, the Civil Liberties Association presented a brief, a prominent Winnipeg minister made an effective plea for religious liberty, and other individuals and groups came forward to speak for the Hutterites. The *Winnipeg Free Press*, in keeping with its record in the defence of civil liberties, took an editorial stand against discrimination. These indications of public opinion were sufficient to lead the committee to issue a statement to the effect that restrictive legislation was unlikely, but that the committee intended to further examine the acts of incorporation.

Although the Hutterites are few in number legislation against them is a crucial issue in civil rights. Analogous in some ways to the Japanese-Canadian issue it is even more alarming because the dubious justifications in terms of national security are absent. It is one of the mounting series of threats to civil liberties on both the provincial and national level which must be fought by all liberally-minded people as strongly as if their own liberties were at stake, because ultimately that is the case.

Aspects of A Socialist Economy

Colin Cameron

► "WHAT do we mean by a socialist economy?" The moment such a question is posed pandemonium breaks loose. The number of opinions on what constitutes a socialist economy is exceeded only by the number of opinions on what does not constitute one.

Marxists wring their hands in anguish when they hear public ownership described as socialism, and consider it little less than blasphemous to apply the term to anything short of a society in which the state has "withered away" and a money economy has given place to a practical application of the slogan "from each according to his ability and to each according to his need."

The Communist snorts derisively at the idea of achieving revolutionary aims by the use of democratic procedures and is content to look no further than the establishment of that contradiction in terms, "the dictatorship of the proletariat," without too much concern for the economic and social conditions which may accompany it.

The Trotskyite in his turn considers it tragically ridiculous to apply the adjective "socialist" to anything which may be achieved this side of world revolution.

Very weighty and erudite arguments may be produced in support of any of these positions. Indeed socialists spend a great deal of their time and energy in producing and refuting such arguments. But as a basis for effective revolutionary action within the sphere of competence of any socialist party, they are academic to say the least. The overwhelming majority of men and women in the western world who consider themselves socialists recognize this. Even many who would describe themselves as intellectual Marxists, Communists, or Trotskyites in actual fact look toward and work toward goals much less absolute. They have in mind something much more modest than the final end product of revolutionary socialism. They are content with more attainable goals. A social order which will keep production at the full speed required to satisfy at least the basic needs of the people, which will avoid mass unemployment and remove the individual's fear of want and insecurity and will achieve this without sacrificing the individual's right to freedom of speech, thought and action will pretty well coincide with the popular conception of what constitutes a socialist economy, no matter how far short it may fall of any theoretical concept of socialism.

What are the specific economic changes required to reach this goal? The experiences of the depressed 'thirties and of the war years may provide the answers if we examine them carefully.

The years of depression ushered in by the stock-market crash of 1929 offer a clinical study in the diseases of capitalism. The period was characterized by falling production levels and rising mass unemployment, accompanied by appalling distress and misery and acute social strains. All these symptoms of disease were plain to be seen. But something else was also taking place which was not so easily observed. During the whole of this period the fatal tendency, inherent in capitalism, to "oversave" was continually accelerating. A larger and larger proportion of the total wealth production was going into the hands of those who could not spend it but must seek fields of investment for surplus income. This accelerating accumulation of unspendable income reached the point where in 1936, in the depths of the depression, for

the first time in history more capital was exported from Canada than was imported. The plight of capital was as acute, though less painful, as that of labor, both vainly seeking profitable employment.

This condition continued to get worse until preparations for war throughout the world opened up opportunities for gainful investment and consequently gainful employment. With the actual outbreak of war the process which had reduced most of the nations of the world, including Canada, to the verge of economic collapse was suddenly reversed. In place of falling production came a tremendous program of industrial expansion. In place of mass unemployment, governments were hard put to it to find workers to perform all the tasks required by this enormous expansion of production.

As we are today rapidly approaching the conditions which prevailed before the war, it would be well to examine the actions taken by our government which turned our society from the path of ever-deepening depression into that of expanding prosperity, for the results achieved are to some extent at least those which socialists seek to achieve. In spite of gross inequalities, of waste and dishonesty on the part of many, it can be said that from 1939 to 1945 production of goods in Canada was limited only by limitations on available supplies of raw materials and manpower and that for the time being all the forces in capitalist society which produce periodic depressions were rendered inoperative, with the result that not only did production levels exceed anything in our history but in the process a very large measure of prosperity was enjoyed by the mass of the people. The war altered none of the physical factors involved. No new sources of power or raw material were uncovered. No new reservoirs of labor power were discovered—indeed the potential working force was drastically reduced by the demands of the armed services, and hundreds of thousands who would normally have been producers of wealth became consumers, pure and simple. Everything which was done to effect the transformation was political and economic and the power to take similar political and economic action is still available for use now or in the future.

Government action was directed to two purposes. One was to inaugurate a tremendous expansion of industry to produce the materials of war and to build vast military establishments and the other was to prevent too large a proportion of the enormously expanded monetary wealth remaining in the hands of those who could not spend it. To set this production program in motion vast quantities of new purchasing power were called into existence. Treasury bills and certificates were deposited with the chartered banks as collateral for short-term government loans. These treasury bills and certificates were in turn deposited as "cash reserves" with the Bank of Canada, upon which the chartered banks could draw currency to meet the checks issued by the government and its agents in payment of wages and material costs incurred in the war-production program. Had the government done nothing else than this the program would have come to a full stop very soon. Enormous profits would have piled up unspendable surpluses and galloping inflation would have completed the ruin. But something else was done. By a system of heavy taxation and by providing fields for investment in war loans, the enormous stream of purchasing power released by the war program was siphoned back into the public treasury except for that portion which could be spent on available supplies of consumers' goods.

This was a continuous process, and under its impact the Canadian economy expanded far beyond anything ever

experienced before. In effect this was accomplished by temporarily suspending the profit-making aspects of capitalism. While undoubtedly very large profits were made, the greater part of them was either taken outright by taxation, or temporarily by means of the war loans. By either means they were made available for the next stage in the government's planned production program. The important features for socialists to consider were the expansion of production by the creation of new purchasing power and the withdrawal of surplus values back to the public treasury to be distributed again in the next phase of production.

It might seem that it would be possible for our government to follow the same procedure today to ward off depression. In the place of war materials, orders might be placed for large-scale public works such as housing, electric power, highways, schools, and hospitals. In place of the supplies needed to maintain the armed forces, those supplies might be diverted to maintain a vast army of public servants engaged in providing various social services in the fields of education, health, and research. Theoretically such a program could be undertaken on the same basis as that of the war program.

But unfortunately there is a joker here. Such a program would entail as it did in the war, a suspension of the profit motive. The owners of the industrial plant producing the goods would be required to forgo the major part of their profits. Surplus values would have to be siphoned back into the public treasury. Nor could this be done on the temporary basis of the war years. It would not be sufficient to ask them merely to postpone the enjoyment of these profits by lending them to the state, for before long the accumulation of bonded debt would reach crippling proportions. It would have to be a complete relinquishment.

It is not to be expected that industrialists will submit to this. The psychological atmosphere of the war ensured public support to the government in enforcing this self-denying ordinance, although even at that the government was obliged to submit to considerable blackmail in the matter of permitted war profits. It is to be expected that any such demands on private enterprise as would be required to keep production going at full speed in peace-time would be met with a sit-down strike by the owners of productive plants. Any government which relies for its political life on the owning classes must be prepared to allow private enterprise its pound of flesh. Even war did not allow the government to do more than whittle down profits by taxation and to impound the rest in loans. This was submitted to only because the owning groups were quite well aware that the successful prosecution of the war demanded it.

The successful prosecution of the war against depression is another story. It will require the permanent abolition of the profit-making which was temporarily suspended during the war, or its reduction to the proportions of managerial salary. It is obvious that the owning classes will simply refuse to operate their properties on any such basis. Capitalism cannot be tamed or reformed to any such degree. But anything less means a speedy return to depression.

A socialist government in Canada which hopes to achieve the goals suggested earlier will have to move swiftly to transfer the major factors of production from private hands to public ownership. For political reasons no doubt this transfer will have to take the form of purchase. But it will have to be in form only. In actual practice a socialist government could not allow the former owners to continue to exact tribute. To prevent it the major part of the compensation will have to find its way back to the treasury. Otherwise the state will merely have relieved the owners of the burdens of management without having freed the

economy from the strangulation caused by the exaction of profits.

To achieve the aims which it was elected to achieve the socialist government must aim at a distribution of the total wealth production of the country via three channels:

- (1) Personal income of a size to provide for living requirements and for moderate savings against unforeseen contingencies.
- (2) Social services.
- (3) Investment necessary for replacement and additions to productive plant.

The relative size of personal incomes is not a matter of great importance from the point of view of maintaining production and employment levels, so long as none of them is of a size which causes the accumulation of unspendable surpluses. It will be a matter of economic and social policy to decide what proportion of wealth production shall be distributed in the form of personal income and what proportion be pooled as "social income" in the form of social services.

To accomplish these purposes it is obvious that very large sectors of the economy must be brought under public ownership. Any socialist government which hesitates to do this promptly will be courting disaster. There are several yardsticks which must be applied in order to decide whether or not any given enterprise must be immediately removed from private control:

- (1) Is it the means by which large accumulations of savings accrue to those who cannot spend them but must re-invest them?
- (2) Does its ownership confer power which may be used to obstruct a socialist government?
- (3) Is it wasteful of natural resources, either through careless and inefficient methods, or because those resources are being exported without regard to domestic needs?
- (4) Is it monopolistic in nature, leaving the rest of the economy dependent on the decisions of its owners?

Such enterprises as banking, insurance, transportation, communications, heavy industry, mining, grain milling, meat packing, lumber, fishing, wholesaling, and mass retailing clearly come under one or more of these headings. A socialist government will be faced with a tremendous administrative problem. But it is a problem which must be tackled, if there is to be any effective war waged against poverty.

A federal state such as Canada, occupying an enormous territory where settled areas are separated from each other by vast uninhabited regions, faces especially difficult problems. Complete centralization is as impossible as it would be undesirable. The fields in which federal and provincial authorities are to function in the building of a socialist economy will have to be clearly defined. The appropriate authority, federal, provincial, municipal, or co-operative, to which each section of the economy is to be entrusted, will have to be decided upon. And the necessary machinery will have to be devised whereby they can all operate within the framework of a national plan of production and distribution.

An economy based on such a program may fall far short of perfection. It may not constitute what could strictly be termed a "socialist economy." It may not establish the "classless society" of socialist theory. Certainly it will not solve all our social problems. But it will free the people of Canada from the recurring economic strangulation which has been their lot to date, and enable them to enjoy on an increasing scale the standards of living which our resources make possible. Moreover it is a program which can be carried out within the framework of existing institutions and by the exercise of political powers now in possession of the Canadian people.

Newfoundland: Tenth Province?

Edith Fowke

► SHOULD NEWFOUNDLAND become part of Canada? Intermittently over the past century and a half this question has been raised and dropped. Once again "the forgotten island" is briefly in the news with the announcement that the Newfoundland National Convention is sending a delegation to Ottawa to investigate the possibility of a federal union.

Geographic and historical factors indicate that the division between Canada and Newfoundland is purely arbitrary: there is little reason why it should not have been or should not yet become Canada's tenth province. Situated in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence at Canada's eastern gateway, Newfoundland is only nine miles from the mainland on the north across the Strait of Belle Isle, and a little more than sixty miles from Cape Breton on the south. In size, its 42,000 square miles make it slightly smaller than New Brunswick and Nova Scotia combined.

After John Cabot discovered it in 1497, Newfoundland became a base for fishermen who came out from Europe each summer. In 1583 it became Britain's first colony when Sir Humphrey Gilbert took formal possession of it in the name of Queen Elizabeth. Over the next two centuries settlement was slow because of the opposition of the fishermen who wanted to retain its shore for curing their fish, and the French who saw in it a threat to their colony of New France.

Before the Constitution Act in 1791 it was proposed that Newfoundland be included in a Canadian federation; in 1839 Lord Durham also favored a union of all British settlements in North America; and in 1864 Newfoundland was represented at the Quebec Conference when plans for Confederation were made. Although Newfoundland decided in 1869 not to come in, the British North America Act provided that the island might be admitted to the union at any time, on addresses from the Parliament of Canada and the Legislature of Newfoundland. When her banks collapsed in 1894, Newfoundland made overtures for admission, but Canada was unwilling to grant as large an annual subsidy as Newfoundland requested.

From 1832 to 1931 Newfoundland was a self-governing Dominion. Then, when financial difficulties made it impossible for her government to carry on without outside aid, she reverted to colonial status. Since 1934 she has been governed by a six-member Commission (three British civil servants and three Newfoundlanders nominated by the Governor) responsible to the British Government. Britain promised that "as soon as the island's difficulties are overcome and the country is again self-supporting, responsible government on the request of the people of Newfoundland will be restored."

The war brought considerable prosperity as a result of the establishment of American and Canadian air and naval bases there. However, it is generally recognized that this prosperity is only temporary and provides no solution for the island's economic problems. As a Newfoundland paper, the *Fisherman's Advocate*, puts it: "It was the same during the last war. And peace brought poverty, privation, and six cents a day for the unemployed to eke out a miserable existence."

The living standard in Newfoundland is far below that of Canada. Even in 1944 the national income was only about

\$150 per capita compared with \$600 in the United States and \$500 in Canada. Lord Ammon, who headed a British Parliamentary Mission to Newfoundland in 1943, reported that in its cities "there exist some of the worst housing conditions in the Empire, if not in the world."¹ Tuberculosis, dysentery, beriberi, and diphtheria are endemic, and medical and hospital facilities are hopelessly inadequate. Education opportunities are primitive: there are few secondary and no technical schools or university on the island, and the public schools are operated on a denominational basis so that every little village has as many schools as there are religious denominations in the place.

The greater part of Newfoundland's 300,000 population is strung out along 6,000 miles of coast in small isolated settlements. Outside of half a dozen larger towns, the average population of its 1500 outport settlements is 180. As there are very few roads, many of these scattered settlements are completely cut off from one another when the weather makes transportation by sea difficult. Before the war most of the people were fishermen, dependent for their livelihood upon the sale of dried codfish in the world markets. When the market slumped with the world-wide depression of 1929, more than 70,000—one quarter of the population—were forced to go on relief, which, as mentioned above, was a dole of six cents a day.

The economic problem of the Newfoundlanders is further intensified by the fact that practically everything they use, including food, is imported, and as 80 per cent of the national revenue is raised by taxes on imported goods, the cost of living is very high. Another factor is the prevalence of the credit or "truck" system. Most fishermen borrow to carry themselves through from the time they begin operations in the spring until their fish are sold in the foreign market and payment is received in Newfoundland. Thus they are constantly enmeshed in debt to the merchants who, says Lord Ammon, "all hold surprising views on the profit an honest trader is permitted to make in a normal year."

During the last twenty years there has been considerable development in two other industries: lumbering and mining. Whereas in 1895 about 95 per cent of Newfoundland's exports were fish, by 1938 the main exports ranked: pulp and paper, 46 per cent; iron ore, 25 per cent; and fish, 25 per cent. However, the pulp-and-paper and iron-ore industries have been considerably more profitable for the foreign investors whose capital established and operated the plants and mines than for the Newfoundlanders.

The people of Newfoundland have had little to say about the running of their country, partly because the widely-scattered settlements make democratic processes difficult, and partly because power resides chiefly with the moneyed classes of St. John's. Lord Ammon reported:

"St. John's, which supports about one-seventh of the population of the island, virtually controls its trade and political destiny, but is too little in touch with popular opinion outside the Avalon Peninsula. I formed the impression at St. John's that we were amongst people who although generous—in the social sphere to an almost overwhelming degree—were entirely lacking in communal spirit when the interests of their country were concerned. This hard judgment does not, of course, apply to every inhabitant of the capital, but, by and large, its moneyed classes are more concerned with personal than national advancement."

In June, 1946, at its first elections in thirteen years, Newfoundland elected a National Convention to survey and make recommendations concerning the future form of government, which will then be decided by a general referendum. The possibilities that have been discussed include: (1) continuing

in the British Empire under the present commission form of government; (2) reverting to the status of a self-governing Dominion; (3) joining Canada as a tenth province; (4) joining the United States as a forty-ninth state.

In April, 1947, the Convention appointed a delegation to go to Great Britain to discuss the question of fiscal arrangements in the event that first or second alternative was adopted. It rejected a motion to approach the United States, but adopted one expressing a desire to investigate the possibility of union with Canada.

Already Newfoundland is linked to Canada in many ways. She obtains more imports from Canada than from any other country. When the Newfoundland banks went bankrupt in 1894, Canadian chartered banks were set up in the island, and today all the banking is done by Canadian institutions. The Newfoundland transportation system is closely integrated with Canada's. In recent years steps have been taken to standardize education in the two countries. Canadian newspapers are widely read in Newfoundland, and most of her professional men received their training in Canadian universities.

From the point of view of the people of Newfoundland, union with Canada has much to commend it. With the increasing tendency toward larger units it is unlikely that a country as small as Newfoundland could ever become self-sufficient. If Newfoundland were to become a Canadian province, it would not increase the sale of her goods directly, because Canada imports little from Newfoundland except iron ore, but as a part of a larger unit she would be in a stronger bargaining position to compete in world markets.

The chief advantage of the removal of tariff barriers would be to give the Newfoundland people cheaper goods. The strongest opposition to union comes from those industrial concerns who now operate under protective tariffs and whose position would be adversely affected. Business people also fear that joining Canada would mean higher income and business taxes, because at present Newfoundland's revenue is drawn almost entirely from customs duties. As Lord Ammon points out: "Were she to join with Canada, the system of indirect taxation from customs imports would largely be superseded by direct taxation on the Canadian model, to the eventual benefit of the poorer classes." On the whole, taxation would probably fall less heavily on Newfoundland than on the rest of Canada because the standard of living is lower. The people also would benefit by coming within the framework of Canadian social services which, however perfect, are much more adequate than anything Newfoundland has at present.

But what advantages would there be for Canada? At Teheran Mr. Roosevelt is reported to have said of Newfoundland that he did not want to "buy a headache." If the Dominion were to assume responsibility for Newfoundland, it would undoubtedly be a rather expensive proposition—but there are several points which might well make "buying a headache" a good bargain for us.

Newfoundland's geographic position makes her a very important link in world air traffic, as she lies on the Great Circle route between North America and Europe. Canada must have air concessions in both Newfoundland and Labrador if she is not to be handicapped in developing aviation lines to Europe.

There are good reasons to believe that if her natural resources were developed Newfoundland could provide a fuller and more varied life for a considerably larger population. The island is not simply "a barren rock fit only for fishermen's accommodation." In climate, natural resources, and terrain, it is very similar to Norway and Finland, both of which normally enjoy a fairly high standard of living. It has rich timber, mineral, and water-power resources: at Bell

¹NEWFOUNDLAND, THE FORGOTTEN ISLAND, by Lord Ammon; Fabian Pamohlet.

Island there is the largest iron-ore deposit in the Empire, and authorities declare that there is greater power in the Grand Falls than in Niagara. A vigorous and carefully-planned development of these resources might have astonishing results. A few obvious steps include: the development of modern plants for drying, filleting, and fast-freezing fish, combined with the use of fast motor vessels to bring the fish from outlying ports to a central curing and shipping point; the use of large-scale machinery to clear the land and scientific experiments to determine the most economic crops and farming methods; improved roads to link farming and market areas; and the development of a strong co-operative movement like that of Nova Scotia.

It must also be remembered that Newfoundland has sovereignty over 110,000 square miles of territory on the Canadian mainland. After the Peace of Paris Labrador was transferred to Newfoundland at the instigation of the Hudson's Bay Company as a means of shutting out the French fur traders from Montreal. Debates over its border continued until 1927 when a Privy-Council decision defined the Coast of Labrador as "the watershed of rivers falling into the sea on that shore." Instead of a narrow strip of coastal territory, this gave Newfoundland a large segment of land jutting into Quebec, about three times the area of the island itself. Although Canada accepted the decision, she felt that it was unjust, and events have proved it unwise. Newfoundland, unable to develop even her own resources, has done practically nothing to develop Labrador.

From time to time members of the House of Commons have suggested that Canada should recover possession of Labrador by purchase or negotiation. Quebec has been particularly interested as she feels, with considerable reason, that Labrador is an integral part of her territory. Like Alaska, which the United States bought for \$7,500,000, Labrador has vast undeveloped resources which might prove of untold value. It is known to have huge timber reserves; the Hamilton Falls are said to be capable of supplying sufficient lighting power for half the North American continent; and a valuable iron-ore deposit has recently been located near the Quebec border.

From April 29 to May 8 Newfoundland's seven-member delegation, headed by Gordon F. Bradley, carried on a series of talks with British government officials in London. On its return it will come to Ottawa "to ascertain from the Canadian Government what fair and equitable basis may exist for a federal union of Canada and Newfoundland."

The prospects this time are favorable. Mr. St. Laurent has said: "The Government is confident that the friendship and co-operation which have marked our relations with Newfoundland will provide a firm basis for discussions with the delegation from the National Convention. The delegation will, I feel sure, be warmly welcomed in Ottawa." And Mr. Bradley has said that in his personal view, if the Ottawa government is prepared to give terms acceptable to Newfoundland, then they will be accepted by the people, and the ancient colony will become the Dominion's tenth province.

ANY BOOK YOU WANT

may be ordered from *Canadian Forum Book Service* at the regular publisher's price, postfree if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. Subscriptions for any periodical may be ordered from us. Please address your order to

CANADIAN FORUM BOOK SERVICE

16 Huntley Street

Toronto 5, Canada

Civil Servants and Politics

Frank G. Hanson

► PEOPLE who are accustomed to traditional political methods have difficulty in understanding some of the actions of the CCF government in Saskatchewan. Every time the new government makes a move the old-time members of the Gardiner machine try to analyze it for political motives. They cannot grasp the idea that a political movement which is governed by regular conventions of the people acts more often according to social principles than for purposes of political expediency.

At the recent session of the Saskatchewan Legislature a new Public Service Act was passed. One of the clauses in this Act confers political liberty upon civil servants. Opposition members and the capitalist press can see nothing in this action but sinister political motives. But those who are familiar with the development of CCF policy know that it is merely the unfolding of a principle adopted by CCF conventions long before the party secured power in Saskatchewan.

Back in July, 1939, the Saskatchewan CCF Provincial Convention passed the following resolution:

"The CCF pledges itself to remove party patronage from the public services of Canada. While recognizing that heads of commissions, deputy ministers, etc., must be in agreement with the policy of the government and should therefore be government appointments, all other civil service appointments should be, and under a CCF government will be, placed under complete control of a non-political commission."

On November 23, 1943, before the CCF came to power, T. C. Douglas in discussing the civil service quoted this resolution and said: "From this it will be seen that the CCF are opposed to having civil servants fired and hired on the recommendations of members of the Legislature and local patronage committees. This does not mean that a CCF government can guarantee to employ all those hired by the present government. In some cases departments are over-staffed, and in other cases men have been hired purely for political purposes, and not for any ability which they possess. But it does mean that the only test of employment will be a man's honesty and efficiency. If a man has been honest in the conduct of the people's business, and if he is competent at his job, what his political views are does not concern us for one moment. His political opinions, like his religious convictions, are a personal matter which bear no relation whatsoever to his fitness for the Civil Service."

One of the first acts of the CCF government was to plan a Public Service Commission which would assure that appointments to the civil service were made upon the basis of merit and without political consideration. At the same time the government made it possible for civil servants to affiliate with bona-fide trade unions and to enter into collective bargaining agreements. By these measures the civil servants in Saskatchewan have been placed in the most fair and secure position of any civil servants in Canada.

The next and logical step in accord with democratic principles was to give civil servants political freedom.

The former Public Service Act said: "No employee shall be debarred from voting at any dominion or provincial election, if, under the laws governing the election, he has the right to vote; but no employee shall engage in partisan work in connection with any such election, or contribute, receive or in any way deal with money or party funds. Any person violating any of the provisions of this section shall be dis-

missed from the public service without notice and without compensation in lieu of notice."

The new Public Service Act says: (1) "No person in the service shall:

- (a) be in any manner compelled to take part in any political undertaking, or to make any contribution to any political party, or be in any manner threatened or discriminated against for refusing to take part in any political undertaking; or
- (b) directly or indirectly use or seek to use the authority or official influence of his position to control or modify the political action of any other person; or
- (c) during his hours of duty engage in any form of political activity; or
- (d) at any time take such part in political activities as to impair his usefulness in the position in which he is employed.

(2) Any person in the public service who desires to become a candidate for public office, shall be entitled to leave of absence for thirty days prior to date of the election."

It may be seen that the new Act protects civil servants against any pressure to assist the political activities of the party in power. The need for this was suggested by conditions which existed under the previous administration. Following are a few samples of letters which give evidence of the manner in which the civil service was used in politics during the reign of the former Liberal government. The chief characters involved were G. J. Matte, who was Commissioner of Northern Areas (now private secretary to W. L. Mackenzie King); Oscar J. Lefrancois, who was an inspector of Northern Areas; and Doug. Munro, who was Provincial Secretary of the Saskatchewan Liberal Association:

(Excerpt of letter.) Meadow Lake, Sask.,
"G. J. Matte, Esq., January 21, 1943.
302 Co-operative Creamery Bldg.,
Regina, Sask.

Dear Mr. Matte:

If there were no prospects of an election, I would recommend that relief be practically discontinued, although I am sure relief will be needed the last two months of the summer at least, but I am quite positive you will be approached by certain parties requesting that certain sums be granted on certain relief projects which may be suggested or for the continuation of projects already begun and not completed.

Faithfully yours,
(Signed) Oscar J. Lefrancois."

(Excerpt of letter.) Meadow Lake, Sask.,
The Hon. Hubert Staines, July 13, 1942.
Minister of Education,
Regina, Sask.

Dear Mr. Staines:

While you were visiting your constituency in the month of June in the company of Mr. Matte, I promised you a periodical report on the political situation therein as well as to give you the reaction of Boss Boucher's visit which coincided with yours.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) Oscar J. Lefrancois.

(Excerpt of letter.) Meadow Lake, Sask.,
"Mr. G. J. Matte, July 18, 1942.
302 Co-operative Creamery Bldg.,
Regina, Sask.

Dear Sir:

I spent three days in and around Meadow Lake this week owing to the fact that several of our Athabasca constituents

were there, and I wanted to do a little ground or should I say underground work, which I will report later on when I have obtained more information from another source.

(Signed) Oscar J. Lefrancois."

(Copy.)

"Personal and Confidential.

Regina, Sask.,
November 1, 1941.

Mr. Wm. Miller,
Debden, Sask.

Dear Sir:


Doug. Munro phoned me yesterday asking me to bring you to Regina around the 15th of November as he wants to have a talk with you. He didn't mention what it is about so I am sorry I can't enlighten you.

I told him that I would instruct you to come in so you can do so about that time, putting in an expense account in the usual way, of course, but charging only train fare. Incidentally, before you do come, I would suggest that you call him on the telephone (20735 reverse) to make sure that he will be in the city.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) G. J. Matte, Commissioner."

The sort of activity indicated here was so common that the people of the province took it for granted. The new Act, while giving civil servants political liberty, at the same time stipulates that they will not be permitted to engage in any political activity whatever during their working hours. It also provides that no civil servant shall take part in politics in such a way as to impair his usefulness in the position in which he is employed. In explaining this clause Hon. C. M. Fines in introducing the Public Service Act in the Legislature pointed out that there were certain positions in the civil service in which no one could be employed who took an active part in politics. For example he pointed out that an old-age pension inspector would be accused of political bias in recommending pensions if he were known to be a supporter of any one political party.

To sum up the effect of the new clause, it may be said that it makes little difference one way or the other to the average civil servant. But its importance lies in the fact that it clearly sets forth the principles to be observed by civil servants in regard to political activity. It gives a civil servant his full rights as a citizen and yet protects him against political pressures.



32 Pages

25 cents

Postpaid

Order from
CANADIAN
FORUM BOOK
SERVICE
16 Huntley Street
Toronto 5

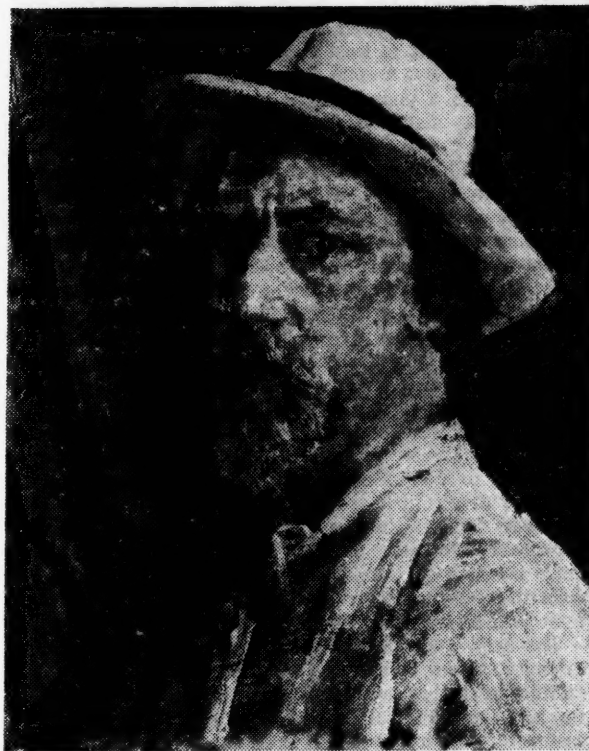
Drama and Film Review

D. Mosdell

The Quality of Mercy, Beware of Pity.

► IT IS OUR MELANCHOLY DUTY to report that this month a new play about Elizabethan England, *The Quality of Mercy*, by Earle Grey, was born, and died—if such terms can be applied to amateur theatricals in Toronto. Oddly enough it was not killed, as so many amateur presentations are, by incompetent acting, direction, or staging. Some little talent went into the producing and playing of it, and at no time was the audience embarrassed by the technical gaucherie which often makes local playgoing more of an ordeal than a pleasure.

Indeed, the most pressing question at the informal inquest we held afterwards was not "How did it die?" but "Why was it born?" A good historical play usually interprets the past in its own terms, leaving the audience to remark possible modern implications, or draws a strong deliberate parallel between the chosen century and our own, illuminating both. *The Quality of Mercy* did neither. One Jessicated character gazed out the window and said "How beautifully



Augustus John: *Self-Portrait*, reproduced by courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada.

Self-Portrait by Augustus John and *The New Bedford* by W. R. Sickert are illustrated here. They belong to the collection of seventy-five paintings presented to the National Gallery of Canada by the Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey. It represents nearly all the English painters of deserved reputation during the last thirty years. A condition of the gift is that it should be widely shown throughout the Dominion, and it is now on tour.

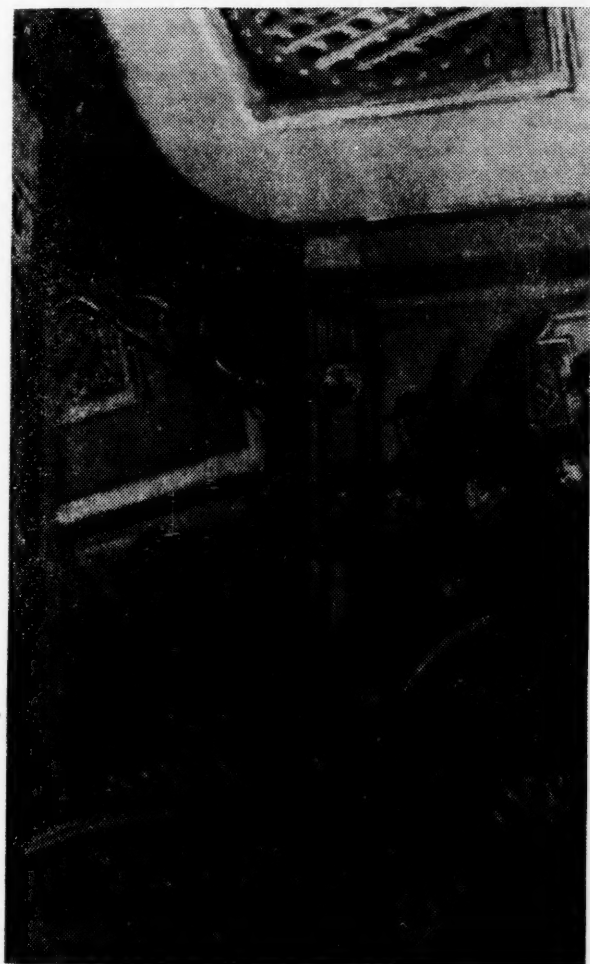
the moonlight strikes beneath those trees," while another kept sweeping out of the room with a twitch of his mantle, saying "All right, I'll go," or "You can't bamboozle me." This uncertainty of historical mood might have passed unnoticed if the author had had anything to say; but the "message" of the play seemed to be that in a national crisis Englishmen have always been able to drop personal activities, such as blackmail, murder, and embezzlement, and fight together for their country.

Plainly *The Quality of Mercy* was written because the author was interested in the craft of playwriting, the efficient engineering of entrances and exits; it is a useful talent, and Mr. Grey unquestionably has it; but he also exhibits banality of idea and poverty of expression. At one point he declaims "God forgive me for the things I had to say"; probably the most fitting comment on that speech, and on the play as a whole, would be Queen Elizabeth's remark to the Countess of Nottingham: "God may forgive you, but I never can."

A bad play, however, should not prejudice us against a good company; nor, for that matter, against any future plays Mr. Grey may write, when he finds that he has something to say to a twentieth century Canadian audience as well as the ability to say it.

* * *

Although *Beware of Pity*, a J. Arthur Rank production from the Stefan Zweig novel of the same name, cannot



W. R. Sickert: *The New Bedford*, reproduced by courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada.

actually be called a film of distinction, the habitual film-goer will probably be surprised and on the whole pleased to find that its plot flouts at least two long-established Hollywood conventions.

The hero is a young Austrian officer whose regiment is billeted in a small Austrian town, conveniently furnished with a local *Schloss* and the heroine, a pretty little thing in the style of Elisabeth Bergner, who has been badly crippled by a fall from a horse. Her doctor, played by Sir Cedric Hardwicke with his usual finish, is indiscreet enough to let the young man know that he has heard of a possible cure for the girl's condition; and the hero, in turn, lets drop this crumb of encouragement in the presence of the family. Too full of sentimental pity to destroy their wild hope, our hero finds himself involved in well-meaning deception; to make matters worse, the girl falls in love with him, and with really remarkable lack of a sense of self-preservation, he allows himself to be roped into an engagement.

The doctor, who seems to be almost as excitable as everybody else in the story, declares that it would be murder at this point to disillusion the girl in any direction; and his wife, a pathetic little creature almost too full of the milk of human kindness, suggests the young man marry the girl anyway, not for love, but out of what she describes as the noble emotion of compassion, to be sharply distinguished from the weak and corrosive pity which got him into the mess in the first place.

The hero, understandably stunned by this avalanche of calamity, agrees to be noble, and is only saved from self-sacrifice at the last minute by the outbreak of the first world war and the suicide of the girl in the case, who by a bit of fortunate eavesdropping discovers that the cure is mythical and her lover's pity all too real.

What is really interesting about *Beware of Pity*, apart from the suicide of the heroine and the substitution of compassion for love, is the transformation of the girl from a purposeless but pleasantly-resigned invalid to a kind of erotic octopus. The film as a whole has the same sentimental charm of the original novel, full of handsome uniformed officers bowing from the waist, crystal chandeliers and Viennese waltzes; and in addition an almost credible plot and one or two characters who are recognizable human beings.

Festival Postscript

Vincent Tovell

► SOME HINDRANCES to the natural growth of Canadian theatre were accentuated strongly by this year's Dominion Drama Festival finals, held from May 5 to 10 in London, Ontario. It was a gala convention, but as contestants met in the green room to exchange views and discuss problems of production and organization, certain ugly facts re-impressed themselves on us.

While our amateur movement is vigorous again, after difficult war years, those who want a career in the theatre can still find no professional companies in Canada to employ them at an appropriate salary. It is not even possible to learn one's job thoroughly here, for that can only be done with constant practice on the stage under experienced directors, and there are hardly any opportunities of this sort. An actor or director in Canada who aspires to a stage career must then give up his dream and turn to radio, or pack his bags, or (and this is the usual decision) he may make the theatre his hobby. As a result, our amateur groups are well stocked with potential professionals, while the American and British theatres draw off the more venturesome. But a high national standard of theatre is not likely to be achieved by hobbyists in a disparate amateur movement,

which neither has a native professional standard to inspire it, nor much direct contact with the best theatre work of the world.

Only an exceptional group will rise above the limitations of this amateur status and establish standards of artistic excellence, and so be, in the best sense, professional. Les Compagnons of Montreal, under the direction of Father Legault, is such a group, and the fact that they won the Bessborough Trophy this year in London reinforces this argument. The calibre of their showmanship can be accounted for not only by the outstanding talents of the performers and of their director, but by the fact that these anonymous players give their wholehearted attention to the theatre; they live and work together, building up a new repertory of plays each year which they present in Montreal and on a brief tour to an increasingly enthusiastic audience. Until we can produce more groups of the quality of Les Compagnons on the amateur level, and solvent companies, touring from coast to coast, employing native talent, on the professional level, we will have no Canadian theatre of artistic significance.

One of the chief deterrents to producers is the fact that there are only a very few stages in Canada equipped to house a production more ambitious than a Sunday School play. The encouraging success of the London Little Theatre can be explained, in some measure at least, by their owning a fully-equipped theatre building. Less fortunate groups are driven to awkward, stupidly-designed school and community auditoriums, for our legitimate playhouses are nearly all in other hands. This means that if our amateur and professional companies are to expand, adequately-equipped theatres must be built in many centres across the Dominion.

And what of the Canadian dramatist? This year only two Canadian scripts were used in the Festival, an inept adaptation of *Maria Chapdelaine*, and a comic anecdote, *Brothers in Arms*, by Merrill Denison. Both are dramatic trivia, unimportant in every respect. And is it any wonder that other and better Canadian plays did not appear in the finals? An ambitious Canadian dramatist, if he has to earn his living by writing, must re-direct himself toward fiction or journalism, or try to write for radio. There is no professional theatre here to pay him for his trouble, to circulate his plays, or even to give him training under proper tutelage and the experience of seeing his plays performed by professionals. It has been suggested that the Dominion Drama Festival be opened only to contestants performing Canadian plays, for a trial year. Without considering the doubtful merits of this proposal, we would suggest that a more practical inducement to our writers would be a truly generous annual award given to a deserving new play. But in the end it will be the responsibility of a professional theatre to stimulate and reward native playwrights.

It comes to this: Canadian theatre can only mature by extending itself beyond the present amateur level, and it must do this before it can take its rightful place of importance in our national culture, or before it can be a vivid expression of Canadian life. The onus is on the pioneers who are interested in establishing professional companies, and on those who will be asked to support them—that is, on each one of us who is interested in the development of native talent.

Any Book you want

may be ordered from Canadian Forum Book Service at the regular publisher's price, postfree if payment is received with the order, or at publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. Subscriptions for any periodical may be ordered from us. Please address your orders to THE CANADIAN FORUM BOOK SERVICE, 16 Huntley Street, Toronto 5, Canada.

FOUR POEMS

by P. K. Page

MAN WITH ONE SMALL HAND

One hand is smaller than the other. It
Must always be loved a little like a child,
Requires attention constantly, implies
It needs his frequent glance to nurture it,

He holds it sometimes with the larger one
As adults lead a child across a street.
Finding it his or suddenly alien
Rallies his interest and sympathy.

Sometimes you come upon him unawares
Just quietly staring at it where it lies
As mute and somehow perfect as a flower.

But no. It is not perfect. He admits
It has its faults: it is not strong or quick.
At night it vanishes, to reappear
In dreams, full-size, lost or surrealist,

Yet has its place like memory or a dog—
Is never completely out of sight—a rod
To measure all uncertainties against.

Perhaps he loves it too much, sets too much stock
Simply in its existence. Ah, but look!
It has its magic. See how it will fit
So sweetly, sweetly in the infant's glove.

POEM

Forgive us, who have not
Been whole or rich as fruit;
Who, through the eyes' lock enter
A point beyond the centre
To find our balance shot;

Who have, if we confessed,
Observed, but never guessed
What lies behind the fact:
The quiet, incipient act
That alters all the rest.

Those of us who took
The style to be the book,
The incident as all
And unequivocal,
Must take another look.

Our blueprint was at fault.
The edifice we built
Disintegrates and falls:
Haunting its ruined halls
The spectre of our guilt.

That kindergarten ghost
Is suddenly our host
And, once we're wined and dined,
Wants to be paid in kind
And fast becomes our guest.

MINERAL

Soft and muscular among the flowers and papers
And changed, as if grown deaf or slightly lame,
She writes to strangers about him as if he were
a stranger,
Avoids the name
Which he no longer has a use for, which
He disinherited as he was leaving.
It had a different ring when he was living.

Now he is mineral to her. In a game
She would pronounce him mineral without thinking;
Mineral his going and his having gone
And on her desk, his photo—mineral.

No gentle mirage loves her as a dream
Can love a person's head, no memory
Comes warm and willing to her tears. She walks
Nearly begonia between the walls,
Calls out against an echo. Nothing's real
But mineral: cold touch, sharp taste of it,
Lodger, forever, in her routed house.

PRESENTATION

Now most miraculously the most junior clerk
Becomes a hero.
Oh, beautiful child
Projected suddenly to executive grandeur:
Gone up like an angel in the air of good wishes,
The gift and the speeches!

Dry as chalk from your files you come unfolding,
In the hothouse they have made of their hearts
You flower
And by a double magic, force their flower:
The gift repaid in the symbol of desire.
You have become quite simply glorious:
They, by comparison, can be less.

Oh, lighted by this dream, the office glows
Brightly among the double row of desks!
This day shines in their breasts like emeralds,
Their faces wake from sleeping as you smile,
They have achieved new grace because you leave.
Each, at this moment, has a home, has love.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR REVIEW

(Published monthly in English, French and Spanish
by the International Labour Office)

Articles by recognised authorities on all aspects of social policy,
national and international.

Industrial and Labour Information, including up-to-date news on
Social and Economic Policy, Industrial Relations, Employment, Con-
ditions of Work, Social Insurance and Assistance, Living Conditions,
Co-operation, Employers' and Workers' Organisations, etc., in all
parts of the world.

Statistics of Wages, Unemployment, Cost of Living, Hours of
Work, etc.

Price: 50 cents; 2s.

Annual Subscription: \$5; 21s.

A specimen copy and catalogue of recent publications, which
include studies on reconstruction, recent developments in the field
of social security, economic conditions, co-operation, and the prob-
lems of the disabled, will be sent on application to the International
Labour Office, Geneva, Switzerland, or to the International Labour
Office, 3450 Drummond Street, Montreal 25, Canada.

Early Morning Tea

Laura Hunter

► "YOU'RE LUCKY," they said. "Ten a month and board! Most places will give you room and board, but hardly any give wages as well." Until the end of the second day Caroline Craig too had thought she was lucky. Now at the end of the second month she was unhappy and despairing—not even rebellious. The mid-term results were out and she'd made a bare second class. How could she get another scholarship on that?

By the time Mrs. French reached the end of her tirade, her thin nostrils were pinched and her enamelled Dresden china beauty had disappeared. Her brisk sharp voice had a hateful sound.

"You're not able to do your work unless you get enough rest. You don't seem to realize you're paid to work here." Caroline wearily pulled off her dripping beret. When she moved her feet they squelched in sodden shoes.

"Do you understand? Don't just stand there. You be in this house by ten-thirty. I won't warn you any more."

"All right."

The answer of course was "All right, Mrs. French," but Caroline was too tired to care. The kitchen door banged shut and she was alone. She took off her wet things. Where could she get them dry for the morning?

The heat from the gas furnace didn't warm the basement room. She thought she'd never get to sleep, and six-thirty comes so soon! She rubbed her icy feet. Everybody had said a little housework before and after classes each day wouldn't be bad, but they didn't know it made your hands like sandpaper. It was a beautiful house and so close to the university, and Mrs. French was so smart and chic and pretty. But she should have known that first day! Anybody else would have known and decided to do anything, to wash dishes in the café rather than stay in the beautiful house. But part-time work didn't pay enough for room and board.

"Caroline Craig? Oh dear, I'm afraid you'll have to be called by your surname here. You see my little daughter is called Carol and it would be too confusing. Craig is rather nice anyway, don't you think? . . . Craig, some more hot water please. See if Mrs. Graves will have lemon, Craig, Craig, pass the potatoes to Mr. French. Craig, baby's bib, can't you see he's spilling his cereal? Craig, the door-bell . . . Craig . . . Craig . . ."

Caroline moved her aching head on the lumpy pillow. It was either neuralgia with the cold, or a wisdom tooth. The evening wasn't worth it. She shouldn't have listened to Benny and Jean and that nice Jim Lott when they suggested going down to the Dairy after the library closed. It was her own fault. But what do you do at eighteen!

She must have slept, for she awakened shaking, her heart pounding with quick painful thumps as she sat up to reach for the alarm clock.

Her cold hands could hardly tug a comb through her unbrushed hair. Thank heaven the kitchen would be warm as soon as she turned up the thermostat!

Early morning tea first — lemon for her, cream from the top of the bottle for him. Cereal to put on, two kinds, one for baby, one for the rest. Orange juice to squeeze for the four of them. The dining-room to dust. The toast to make, the bacon for Mr. French, the soft-boiled egg for Carol.

She made herself fresh, strong coffee.

"That'll make her mad," she thought, as she carried the cup into the dining-room where she drank it while setting the table.

The bacon was in the pan when the dining-room bell rang. It was Mr. French.

"Good morning, Craig. The morning paper? You might just get it."

Couldn't he walk to his own front door? There was a smell of burning bacon. Mrs. French rushed down the back stairs and snatched the pan from the stove.

"Craig, this bacon! Your wastefulness is appalling. You'd think we were made of money."

"I went to get the paper for Mr. French. It had blown into the garden."

"You should have done that first thing. The paper should be on Mr. French's plate when he comes downstairs. Please try to remember a few details, Craig. How you get along in your studies I'm sure I don't know!"

The kitchen door was flung open, and the imperious voice of Carol, so painfully like her mother's, said:

"Craig, don't be so beastly sloppy with my egg this morning. It was horrible yesterday."

They were all eating at last. Caroline got another cup of coffee and a piece of toast and sat on the high stool, her biology text open on the table. The bell again.

"Craig, baby has finished. Take him into the kitchen . . ."

She knew the rest.

"Until we've finished, keep him amused . . ." She washed the cereal from the chubby hands and bent to kiss the child's rosy face.

"It's not your fault, lamb, but you'll grow up to be just like your hideous relations."

The child on her lap, she tried once again to read the assignment.

"Oh Craig, you might help Carol to find her school tie. The poor child will be late and Miss Foster is so strict."

Carol was sitting on her unmade bed.

"Where did you leave your tie?"

"If I knew I wouldn't need you to help me."

"Oh don't be so rude."

"I'll be rude if I like. And don't you be rude to me. You were told to find my tie, see!"

The baby was investigating the school bag on the floor.

"You little beast! Leave that alone!" screamed Carol, as she pounced on the child and slapped him smartly. He roared and Caroline instantly ducked under the bed. Mrs. French came running, the loose heels of her mules slapping the floor smartly.

"Craig, what is this? Why is Gerald crying?"

"Carol slapped him," she said wearily. "Here's the tie. It was under the bed."

"Really Craig, I don't understand you girls at all. Can't you manage two small children without all this fuss? When I was your age I was running a house and taking care of a child."

She was in the front hall when Caroline went downstairs.

"Oh Craig, you might hurry home this afternoon. We are having two guests for dinner. I'll leave the menu on the kitchen table. And please when I say shoestring carrots I mean shoestring."

"I have to do the ironing tonight."

"Oh! Well I think you'll manage. Perhaps Carol will amuse Gerald when she gets home from school."

"She has her music lesson."

"Dear me Craig, I don't like your tone. Anyone would think you were killed with work. You'll just have to do the best you can. We won't eat until seven."

Caroline ran along the boulevard. She'd be late. Oh God, no matter what they said it was still too hard for a girl without money to get an education. A scholarship? Sure she had a scholarship. It paid her fees and books, but she had to live and eat and buy shoelaces and go to the dentist.

If only she were a veteran! Well, she could quit, of course. Who would care? She could go back to Chemainus and work in the store.

Mrs. French said she could leave the dishes, so she went thankfully to the basement and wrapped in blankets and coats she studied half the night.

In the morning she dragged herself numbly up the basement stairs.

"I'm having too much coffee," she thought. "That's what's wrong with me. I'll drink hot water this morning."

But they had left the dinner dishes. They were neatly stacked on the sink, and the highball glasses and the liqueur glasses, and the pots were under the stove, filled with water of course, so they'd be easy to clean. She was so angry her hands were shaking as she got the milk bottle from the refrigerator, to take off the cream for the tea. The bottle dropped from her fingers, and half of it spilled on the floor.

"Well, he'll have to take milk this morning."

She laid the tray on the bedside table, and went to the window to pull up the blind. It was still raining, not a break in the dull, gray sky. She tried not to look at her employers as she walked past their beds—the red face, the sparse, fair moustache and already bulbous nose, and equally repellent and metallic waves under the hairnet and the network of tiny lines on Mrs. French's sharp, controlled face.

She had almost reached the door.

Mr. French hadn't much of a hangover, his voice wasn't angry, only querulous.

"You've put milk in my tea. I can't drink this. Take it away and bring me some more."

Mrs. French was settled back on her pillow sipping her tea clear, with lemon. A look crossed her face. Was it pleasure or triumph? Caroline didn't know. In the space of time, however, that it took her to cross the thick, mauve rug to the table by the bed she registered only that look. And without warning from her mind her hand lifted the cup and dashed the contents in Mrs. French's face. The cup fell to the floor.

She took the afternoon boat to Nanaimo and caught the bus for Chemainus. There was some kind of a fuss, but she didn't come back, and Mrs. French got another student.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor: In reply to Mr. Paul A. Gardner's letter in the May *Canadian Forum*, in which he criticizes certain statements in my article on "The Printers and the Closed Shop," I am grateful for the information it contained about the *Evening Telegram's* activities during the Guild's troubles with the *Toronto Daily Star*. Mr. Gardner also mentions the *Telegram's* breaking of the truckdrivers' strike "not many years later." Actually, the strikes of the Tely's truckdrivers occurred in the fall of the same year (1941), and one of the interesting things about it was that the strike was broken thanks largely to the rather complete co-operation given by the publisher of the *Toronto Daily Star*. Mr. Gardner may be interested in what Charles W. Armstrong wrote about the *Star's* vigor in that strike. In an article entitled "Pickets Round the Tely" (*The Canadian Forum*, November, 1941), Mr. Armstrong reported: "The Tely got no aid from the *Globe and Mail*—beyond the silence of its news columns—but the labor-championing *Star* helped from the word Go. Moment the strike began, just as an edition was ready to go out, the *Star* refused to give newsboys papers unless they could show they had Telys too."

Mr. Gardner was in the thick of the Guild troubles with the *Star*, so he may recall the words of the Guild's international organizer from New York, Mr. John Dunn. Re the *Toronto Daily Star*, Mr. Dunn stated at that time:

"I'm a union organizer because I get angry when I see things that shouldn't be. Up here I get twice as angry because I see bad conditions, and I also see a publisher who claims to be labor's champion, using every traditional terrorist trick to fight his employees' union." (From "Six Lessons for White Collar Workers," *The Canadian Forum*, April, 1941).

Mr. Gardner is squeamish about my characterization of the *Star* as "near fellow-traveller." I say that he is squeamish about it because he doesn't attempt to deny it, but simply states that it is "shabby appreciation" of the coverage that the *Star* gives the CCF. In my view, it would be less than honest to allow appreciation for the considerable editorial and news column support which the *Star* does give to genuinely progressive causes to blind one to the shameful slanting of much labor and foreign news which is practised in the *Star* office. And the silly part of it all is that if the *Star's* totalitarian friends were to achieve power the *Star's* liberalism would be their first victim. *F. Lloyd Harrington.*

The Editor: Through the release of atomic energy, our generation has brought into the world the most revolutionary force since prehistoric man's discovery of fire. This basic power of the universe cannot be fitted into the out-moded concept of narrow nationalisms. For there is no secret and there is no defence; and there is no possibility of control except through the aroused understanding and insistence of the peoples of the world.

We scientists recognize our inescapable responsibility to carry to our fellow citizens an understanding of the simple facts of atomic energy and their implications for society. In this lies our only security and our only hope: we believe that an informed citizenry will act for life and not for death.

We need \$1,000,000 for this great educational task. Sustained by faith in man's ability to control his destiny through the exercise of reason, we have pledged all our strength and our knowledge to this work. I do not hesitate to call upon you for help.

Albert Einstein, Chairman Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.

POSTER CONTEST

The United Nations announces a poster contest open to professional artists with prizes ranging from \$1500 to \$100. The design is to be in not more than six colors, with a short slogan on some aspect of UN aims and principles which can be produced in several languages. Entries are to be submitted by June 14, 1947, to Eric W. Morse, National Secretary, The United Nations Society in Canada, 124 Wellington St., Ottawa, from whom further details may be obtained.

TOWARD THE FUTURE

Shaping an Ideal at Woodsworth House



Send for your free copy of this 16 page pamphlet to the Secretary, Ontario Woodsworth Memorial Foundation, 565 Jarvis St., Toronto 5, Ontario.

Recordings

Milton Wilson

► COLUMBIA has released a new album of Strauss' early tone poem *Death and Transfiguration*. The advance notice calls it the "mightiest" of his works, and the album cover depicts a scene loaded with "significance," but few today will regard it as a seriously religious work. Strauss, as a disciple of Nietzsche, is dubious of the consolations of religion, and the theme of this tone poem is no more than a scaffolding (per ardua ad astra) on which to display his remarkable energy and craftsmanship, just as in his opera, *Salome*, the matter-of-fact and undecadent Strauss uses Wilde's play as a challenge, not an opportunity for alliance with a kindred spirit. The old Stokowski recording, with the Philadelphia Orchestra on Victor, is pretty feverish and languishing, and uses the system of fade-outs at the end of each record, an unsuccessful experiment of about ten years back. Taken seriously, *Death and Transfiguration* is monstrous, particularly the Mendelssohnian heaven with which it concludes (the ghost of Mendelssohn hangs over much of Strauss' work). Ormandy, who plays it (also with the Philadelphia) on the new Columbia set, avoids most of the Stokowski defects, and gives a crisp, incisive performance, which allows the hearer to accept the work on its own terms as an excellent display of vitality and skill on a large scale. The copy which I played over was gritty and noisy on sides one, five, and six, and side six ended with an obvious wavering of pitch. In a second copy which I tried, the wavering was less noticeable.

Columbia has also released an album of three Mozart violin sonatas, in C (K.296), B flat (K.378), and G (K.379), played by Alexander Schneider (violin) and Ralph Kirkpatrick (harpsichord). As Schneider's solo and ensemble playing are exceptionally fine (Budapest Quartet and Albanani Trio), and as the number of Mozart sonatas recorded are practically negligible, this promised to be an exceptionally important album, and indeed to some extent is. I played the records over expecting to be impressed, so that my disappointment may exaggerate their defects, but, on the whole, both recording and performance leave something to be desired. The sound comes off the records harsh and nasal (as in many recent Columbia chamber music albums), and the performers, I feel, are not too well matched. There is Kirkpatrick's harpsichord playing, which is not always the best foil for Schneider's broadly arched phrasing and usual combination of power and sensitiveness. The two together sound more brash than powerful, and Kirkpatrick has a disturbing tendency to heave and pounce on his cadences. The sonatas sound less good than they ought to, but the passionate and concise *allegro* of the G major certainly comes across with great vigor.

The Victor records for the month have been slow in appearing and will have to be carried over to next month.

And Mary Jones Is a Hollywood Queen

Darkness brings
A similarity to sex
That light does not perceive.
And in the dark
We fashion dreams
Of what we can't believe.

Alan Austin.

BOOKS REVIEWED

During the twenties, Chicago, "that toddlin' town," was the end of the road for the Negroes moving up the river in search of freedom and livelihood. In Chicago, the Negro did not have to step into the gutter to let the white man pass, but he was still barred by economic and social pressures from almost all legitimate enterprises. The Negro's exclusion from respectable society forced him into the company of other outcasts, the gangster, the brothel-keeper, the operator of the speakeasy. Jazz of the twenties was indigenous to the dive and suffered the same stigmas.

Take a youngster "all jammed up full of energy, restless as a Mexican jumping bean." Ferment with sensitivity to music, cork with anti-Semitic prejudice and the product of the explosion is a juvenile delinquent who discovers in jail the cathartic effect of the blues. "Many a time I was laid out there with the blues heavy on my chest, when somebody would begin to sing 'em and the weight would be lifted." When the white man is down he gets ugly and figures somebody has done him wrong; the colored man tells about his troubles in a mournful, but not too mournful, song and then he can smile again because somebody has heard and shared his sorrow.

In jail, Mezz Mezzrow*, the white boy, took his first step on a long and sometimes lonesome road that was to lead to his eventual "passing for chocolate brown." Out of jail, he embarked on a colorful and hectic career, motivated by his determination to learn to play jazz. He became a disciple of the great Negro musicians playing on the South Side; he became a prophet, preaching the gospel of Negro music to the young white musicians who were to make Chicago style famous because they never did learn to play real New Orleans style. Along the way, Mezzrow was introduced to marihuana, the "gauche" that makes you "treetop tall, mellow as a cello." "Tea" relaxes the nerves, makes the musician more tolerant of others' mistakes and even of the discord caused in the world by the keyed-up people who have never learned to relax. More especially, "all the while you are playing, your own accompaniment keeps flashing through your head . . . You hear the basic tones of the theme and keep up your pattern of improvisation without ever getting tangled up."

For Mezzrow, "muta" becomes the symbol of the Negro's and the jazz musician's freedom from the conventions of respectable society. While the early-to-bed citizens were catching up on their bad dreams, Mezzrow and his friends were listening to records by means of their fingernails. "Muggles is the mother of invention. Those early birds always scrambling to catch that worm really puzzled us. Man does not live by worms alone." Mezzrow has never admitted that the weed has any harmful effects, even though he has spent time in jail for selling it. But the opium habit was the Slough of Despond into which he fell when he realized that there was no place for the white man who wanted to play Negro music. Mezzrow despaired because he felt inferior to the race. He was dazzled by the tremendous inventiveness, the creative talent expressed in every aspect of Negro life, in the language which is not only a secret code but an articulate protest, in the music which demands the best effort of each individual and the co-operation of all. Redemption for Mezzrow meant not imitation of the Negro style but absorption into the Negro community and understanding of the Negro's life.

Recent critics have tried to explain Negro music not simply as the product of a particular culture, but rather as the expression of a race which is different physically

*Really the Blues: Mezz Mezzrow and Bernard Wolfe; Random House; pp. 388; \$3.75.

and psychologically. For Mezzrow, the Jew turned Negro, racism is meaningless. It took Mezzrow twenty years of suffering to learn that the Negro's secret is "defiance of the undertaker—a refusal to go under—a stubborn hanging-on—a celebration of life in spite of everything the world might do to you. Inner harmony and team-work—those are the keys to New Orleans music. Get unified yourself, and then you can work with the other guy"; or, like Armstrong and Bechet, you can play flawless, magnificent music even if there is no one to back you up.

Really the Blues is the autobiography of a jazz musician, an artist who reveals the vision of a poet in language as musical, as original, as expressive as jazz itself. The book should be of interest to the general reader because it is a profoundly moving saga of a spiritual journey, a penetrating and perceptive history of jazz, and a sociological study of lasting significance. *Rosemarie Schawlow.*

THE SHOWMAN OF VANITY FAIR: Lionel Stevenson; S. J. Reginald Saunders (Scribner's); pp. 405; \$6.00.

Biographies of Thackeray have been few and far between, and none of them has been especially memorable. There are obvious reasons for this: paucity, in his case, of such biographical materials as letters and notebooks, and the relatively unspectacular nature of his personal life.

The first of these obstacles has recently been removed by the publication, in four fat volumes, of *The Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray* (Harvard University Press, 1945-46) edited by Gordon N. Ray. Such a wealth of new material as these volumes provide is certain to encourage new biographies, and Dr. Ray himself is reported to be engaged in one. In the meantime we have this book by Lionel Stevenson, a graduate of the Universities of British Columbia and Toronto who is now professor of English in the University of Southern California and who is known to many Canadians by his interest in our literature. His book on Thackeray, in spite of the fact that it gives evidence of years of research, is perhaps a little premature: it appears that he has made use of Ray's first two volumes, but he can scarcely have used the two final volumes, since they appeared almost simultaneously with his own book.

Even the new material brought to light by Dr. Ray does not make Thackeray a superficially exciting subject for biographical investigation. His contribution to the development of the English novel, and his role as a critic of Victorian society, are the aspects of Thackeray which most deserve analysis. As so little has been said of these things, it is regrettable that Professor Stevenson did not devote more space to them. His treatment of the political and social conditions of the mid-nineteenth century, and of Thackeray's relation to them, is very sketchy. Instead, Stevenson has confined himself largely to a painstaking and comprehensive record of the outward events of Thackeray's life—a record mainly of journalistic connections established and broken off, of novels begun and completed, of lecture tours planned and executed, and of increasingly frequent social engagements. The nearest approaches to the spectacular in Thackeray's personal life were the mental derangements of his young wife and his subsequent affection for Jane Brookfield; but since he bore the first with unostentatious fortitude and halted the second at platonic friendship even these give no license for sensationalism. It is to Mr. Stevenson's credit that he has not attempted to make them sensational.

And yet there was drama in Thackeray's life: an inner drama which would require the psychological subtlety of a Henry James to render. In Thackeray the divorce between thought and feeling was even more striking than in other men

of his time; he was beset by a restlessness and *ennui* almost as intense as Byron's; he was plagued by a nervousness which caused him to break down several times in front of audiences and which made his public lectures an agony to him. Mr. Stevenson has wrestled manfully to project and explain these things, and has succeeded in giving us the best portrait of Thackeray yet to appear. But for all his efforts Thackeray remains an enigma. To attribute his basic insecurity and *malaise* to his broken nose, as Stevenson mainly does, is even more of an over-simplification than it is to explain Byron by his lameness. It would be very interesting to read hypotheses advanced and defended by expounders of the gospel according to Marx and the gospel according to Freud.

Desmond Pacey.

ON THE RESOLUTION OF SCIENCE AND FAITH:

Wendell Thomas; Island Press; pp. 300; \$4.25.

HUMAN DESTINY: Lecomte du Noüy; Longmans, Green and Co.; pp. 289; \$4.50.

THE SOURCE OF HUMAN GOOD: Henry N. Wieman; Gage (University of Chicago Press); pp. 310; \$3.85.

These books deal in their several ways with religious issues that have a close relation to the present stage of man's history, with its uncertain outlook. The writer of the first is troubled because religion, science and philosophy rarely speak with a single voice; their divisiveness has made internecine conflict the tale of man's life. The wisdom of the pre-Socratic Anaximander, whose 'boundless' was nothing if not inclusive, did at the first point a more excellent way; but Democritus, Plato and Aristotle turned the course of thought from it. From then on, dualism has had a fatal grip on man's mind, notwithstanding recessions toward unity in Jesus, Indian Vedantists and others. But cosmological science, whose latest conquests our author amply details, speculative thought and civilization in its march, are now in the form that augurs at last a ripe and full unification; whence we may hope for a rich and equable diffusion amongst men of all the present potential abundance of material and cultural good. The requisite for this is a new pattern of community, religious liberal-socialist, which with this coming together of our higher interests, ought no longer to be beyond our wit to bring into being.

Lecomte du Noüy's work, again in the light of the newer scientific understanding, stakes out man and his future in most significant form. It builds its argument on a re-interpretation of evolution. Evolution is not by adaptation and consequent selective survival; adaptation is premature equilibrium, yielding stagnation rather than advance. Advance is through individuals who are unadapted; and is toward a goal pictured by our author finalistically. There are breaks in the fabric of nature, between the various levels, that leave a field for chance as well as casual progression; equally, to explain actual advance, we must posit anti-chance, implied in the telefinalist assumption. Under this last, evolution, moving toward its *telos*, becoming with man moral and spiritual, is aided by tradition which carries down the generations their cumulative accomplishment, as animal structure and instinct-memory could never do. This leads on to a painting of man's future possibilities to which our author brings the magic touch; powers of conscience, of the spirit, of faith, that are man's peculiar resource now he is lifted above the animal, make the hope enthralling if he will only rise to his privilege and destiny.

Professor Wieman's book takes the reader along familiar paths; it presents the thought-system of his other writings, but worked out and applied to human living in most searching ways. Wieman sees with masterly clarity the issues in American and the world's social life. But to the present reviewer there is always a strange lacuna in Wieman's meta-

physic. He is non-humanist and objectively realist, as persuaded as any transcendentalist of cosmic as well as human agencies for good. He extols the creative event in the universe ever producing meaning and creative advance. The puzzling part is how this creativity can itself have meaning apart from something of the ontology of historic theism; how Wieman can so steadfastly omit the distinction between God and the works of God. On the other side, many good theists could greatly improve their outlook with some of the insights which, in his own area, Wieman affords.

J. Line.

SPINOZA, PORTRAIT OF A SPIRITUAL HERO: Rudolph Kayser (Introduction by Albert Einstein; trans. by Amy Allen and Maxim Newmark); McLeod (The Philosophical Library); pp. 326; \$4.50.

The life of Baruch Spinoza is in itself a startling historical anomaly; the anomaly of a free man in the midst of a mad and malicious world. For this reason the figure of this lonely "god-intoxicated" Jew has always, and will always, haunt the minds of the more discerning among us.

In his book Mr. Kayser gives us not only a sensitive and penetrating analysis of the man himself, but also a rich account of the age in which he lived. As Einstein says in a foreword, "the author views Spinoza not so much with the eye of a professional philosopher as with that of a sympathetic historian." He paints a vivid picture of the terror-stricken little band of Marranos, "the damned ones," escaping from Spain and Portugal and the long shadows of the *autos-da-fé* and establishing their first community in Amsterdam. It was within this community, with its ancient traditions of rabbinical scholarship, that Spinoza was born and educated. It was from this community, which with new freedoms quickly developed new dogmatisms, that Spinoza was at length excommunicated. The author's canvas is considerably enlarged to cover the later periods of Spinoza's life at Ouderkerk, Rhynsburg, Voorburg and The Hague, and the main currents of the time are variously reflected in the procession of visitors, both great and obscure, who beat a path to the door of the lens-grinder. In these later periods we meet briefly but intimately, often through correspondence, many of the notables of the seventeenth century, such as Henry Oldenburg, Robert Boyle, Leibniz, Tschirnhaus, Pufendorf, Karl Ludwig, and, above all, the tragic figure of the Grand Pensionary, Jan de Witt, Spinoza's spiritual counterpart and political protector in the world of practical affairs. In the cruel fate of Jan de Witt, as in the unending persecutions of Spinoza, the author is able to compute the grim costs of intellectual integrity.

To be sure, burly sinners may readily gain the whole world by the expedient of forfeiting their own souls. But the life of Spinoza, like those of Socrates and Christ, gives us final assurance that in the very nature of things only the pure in spirit can in the end inherit the kingdom of heaven. This inheritance, which Spinoza himself defined as *amor dei intellectualis*, lies, as he put it, "far removed from the great thoroughfare, and the ascent seems steep and difficult. . . . For verily, that which is so rare must be full of difficulties." This then, in a word, is the significance of Mr. Kayser's book. In this age of madmen and machines this book refers us to a mind that had discovered not a little of the secret of ultimate sanity.

George Edson.

TORY RADICAL: Cecil Driver; Oxford; pp. 597; \$5.25.

Readers of Cole's *Chartist Portraits* may remember Richard Oastler, but it is safe to assume that most Canadians have never heard his name. This is the first, and will probably remain the standard, full-length biography of him, and in writing it Professor Driver of Yale has per-

formed a valuable service. The book is valuable in that it introduces us to a personality of singular force and attraction, and for the light it throws on the social and intellectual history of nineteenth century England.

Oastler was a Methodist in religion, a Tory in politics, a liberal humanitarian in general outlook. His Methodism was strongly social and ethical in emphasis, and he was "one of the first men in the nineteenth century to affirm the relevance of Christianity for an industrial society." His Toryism derived from Burke and foreshadowed Disraeli; it consisted essentially in "an awareness . . . of the organic nature of society begotten of the immemorial routines"; and it was sharply distinct from the "insidious 'Conservatism' begotten of a monstrous union between the capitalists' aspirations and a reactionary mood." Oastler's liberal humanitarianism led him to agitate against child labor, long working hours in the factories, and the new poor law. His efforts were of such magnitude that he was known throughout England in the thirties and forties as 'The Factory King.'

Professor Driver's book is a model of good scholarship: it is based on a thorough study of all primary and secondary sources, is fully but unobtrusively documented, and is written in a lucid and self-effacing style.

Desmond Pacey.

THE CHILDREN: Howard Fast; Collins (Duell, Sloan and Pierce); pp. 190; \$2.75.

The Children was first published in *Story Magazine* in 1937. The author wrote it while working a 12-14 hour day for \$11 a week in a factory in downtown New York and *Story Magazine* offered him \$50 for it, but finally raised that amount to \$100.

He wrote it "out of bitterness and hate for what society does to children"—denouncing and exposing racism and the slum which breeds it. It is strong stuff. This is not the world of Christopher Robin and Pooh Bear, who with their sedate walks are as unlike Ollie and Ishky as a Tennyson hero is to Homer's Achilles. Yet a deep desire for and the love of beauty is always there; Ishky, the terribly insecure little Jewish boy, dreams of a garden he will one day discover beyond his slum yard, and Shomake, the Italian boy, really loves his violin and the music he can get from it. All of them in varying degrees are sensitive to beauty, whether it be that of the summer day or of the little girl, Marie. But they have nowhere to go and nothing to do throughout the long hot vacation in the city—so almost inevitably they form a gang and fight with the colored boys down the street, with tragic results.

Perhaps the author's chief achievement in this book is to make us accept and be fond of these children despite the terrible things they do—to make us feel indeed that we are responsible for them and to ask ourselves whether under similar circumstances we would have done as well with our own families. It is a powerful book.

G.D.G.

AS THEY LIKED IT: An Essay on Shakespeare and Morality; Alfred Harbage; Macmillan; pp. 238; \$2.75.

An Essay on Shakespeare and Morality may sound like a throw-back to some of the duller Victorians, but no such notion must keep anyone from reading this book. With Professor Harbage the time-worn theme regains its freshness, as he deftly forwards his thesis that Shakespeare deals with morality as an artist, that the plays "are designed to exercise but not to alter our moral ideas, to stimulate but not to disturb, to provide at once pleasurable excitement and pleasurable reassurance."

The book, however, goes far beyond its title theme. Its novel interest lies as much in its side issues and in its shrewd comments by the way as in the convincing illustration of the main argument. Professor Harbage quietly but stoutly refuses to allow any one school to claim Shakespeare for themselves. He playfully tilts at Professor Stoll and again at those who too pedantically will have only the Elizabethan Shakespeare; the plays prove as nimble at slipping out of the Elizabethan frame of reference as out of any other. And he sensibly concludes: "It is of the nature of great art that it means many things to many men. All criticism that has had a respectful hearing resides safely within the limits of Shakespeare's meaning." *R. S. Knox.*

THE FLAMING HOUR: Edward A. McCourt; Ryerson Press; pp. 170; \$2.25.

The Flaming Hour is another example of the traditionalism in the Canadian novel which demands that if the author is to entice us to explore a tragic episode in our history, the long, long trail must be frequently intersected with lovers' lanes. In this case, Mr. McCourt has chosen as the time for his little "tour de force" the second Riel Rebellion and most of the action takes place in the open range country and foothills of Alberta. The end product turns out to be what is generally labelled, "a better than average book for the teen-ager."

Mr. McCourt's performance however is especially discouraging, because buried in his book is the occasional statement which suggests a knowledge and insight into the Riel Rebellions, which, for a variety of reasons, he has seen fit to avoid developing. For instance, one of his characters says:

"All the same, I've thought many and many a time that it would be better for the red man if he disappeared from the earth in one last great flaming hour of destruction, than to go down through the years and the generations, becoming smaller in numbers, weaker in body and poorer in spirit until he dwindles away into extinction. For such is his destiny."

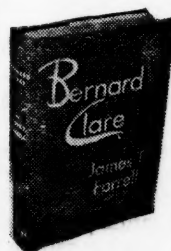
Instead of a sustained and thorough examination of his problem however, Mr. McCourt plays little games with the reader. The book, in other words, is full of blind man's buff and adds nothing to our Canadian literature.

Samuel Roddan.

MIST IN THE TAGUS: Tom Hopkinson; Oxford (The Hogarth Press); pp. 184; \$2.00.

A sentimental day-dream disguised as the exploration of human character. A piece of beach-la-mere prose for the stenographer who can't afford romantic adventures at the Portuguese seaside.

H.M.M.



BANNED IN CANADA

We regret to announce that our current selection

BERNARD CLARE

by James T. Farrell

is not being allowed distribution in Canada. Club members will be notified of the substitute selection.

For information as to special membership savings write

PROGRESSIVE BOOK CLUB (Canada) *
18 Huntley St.

Toronto 5 - Ontario

*In the U.S.A. write Progressive Book Club Inc., 567 Third Ave., New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

REVOLUTION: BRITISH STYLE: R. T. McKenzie; Canadian Association for Adult Education and Canadian Inst. of Inter. Affairs (Behind the Headlines, Vol. VII, No. 1); pp. 18; 10c.

THE STATE AND HUMAN RIGHTS: B. K. Sandwell; Canadian Assoc. for Adult Education and Canadian Inst. of Inter. Affairs (Behind the Headlines, Vol. VII, No. 2); pp. 16; 10c.

ROAD TO PEACE: A study in Functional International Organization: Harrop A. Freeman and Theodore Paulin; Pacifist Research Bureau; pp. 62; 65c.

WAR AND HUMAN NATURE: Sylvanus M. Duvall; Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 125; pp. 31; 15c.

RHEUMATIC FEVER, Childhood's Greatest Enemy: Herbert Yahraes; Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 126; pp. 31; 15c.

KEEPING UP WITH TEEN-AGERS: Evelyn Millis Duvall; Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 127; pp. 31; 15c.

OUR NEGRO VETERANS: Charles G. Bolté and Louis Harris; Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 128; pp. 31; 15c.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF IMMIGRATION: National Committee on Immigration Policy (New York City); pp. 63.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL TO THE COUNCIL, for the period 1 April, 1946 to 30 June, 1946: United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (Washington, D.C.); pp. 140.

AMERICA'S STAKE IN WORLD TRADE: Gloria Waldron and Norma S. Buchanan; Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 130; pp. 32; 25c.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS: W. L. Mackenzie King, Paul Martin, M. J. Coldwell and others; Can. Inst. Inter. Affairs; pp. 30; 15c.

THE UNITED NATIONS AT WORK—BASIC DOCUMENTS: World Peace Foundation; p. 147; 50c.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

COLIN CAMERON, of Comox, B.C., is president of the B.C. CCF and a CCF MLA in the last provincial legislature . . . DOROTHY GIFFEN is a member of the Civil Liberties Association of Manitoba. She has been active on a committee which has prepared considerable factual information on the Hutterites . . . MILTON WILSON is studying English at the University of Toronto . . . FRANK G. HANSON, of Regina, is education director of the Saskatchewan Section of the CCF . . . VINCENT TOVELL is lecturer in English at University College, University of Toronto . . . LAURA HUNTER lives in Vancouver, B.C.

THE CANADIAN FORUM

G. M. A. Grube - Editor

Northrop Frye - Literary Editor

Alan Creighton - Assistant Editor

L. A. Morris - Business Manager

Associate Editors: J. S. Cowan, Edith Owenke, Helen Frye, J. L. Harrington, Kay Morris, Ivon Owen, L. E. Wismer

Published each month by

CANADIAN FORUM LIMITED

16 Huntley Street, Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada

Telephone RA. 3297

Authorized as second class mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa

SUBSCRIPTION RATE: THREE DOLLARS A YEAR

Cheques to be made payable at par in Toronto.

Advertising rates on request

OF GUILT AND HOPE: Martin Niemoeller; McLeod (Philosophical Library); pp. 79; \$2.50.

These documents are written from a background of a profound consciousness of the guilt of the German people and of the Confessional Church in perpetrating the "catastrophic error" of not challenging Hitler more vigorously. Its more immediate background is what the writer calls the greatest despair in the history of Christianity: in his community of Berlin-Dahlem alone some two hundred persons are said to have suicided (including twenty evangelical ministers) in the first days of the Russian occupation. Although we find here a persistent trend of sin-obsession so characteristic of much European theology, the hopeful note is unmistakable in the matter of the author's clear recognition that the Church must no longer contract out of the world scene, but rather indeed "become the official conscience of Christianity" and relate herself to public life. This church, he is convinced, must be independent of the state, and become completely free.

While suffering from poor translation, the book is a valuable source for any study of the future of religion in Germany.

John F. Davidson.

THE INTELLECTUAL ADVENTURE OF ANCIENT MAN: H. and H. A. Frankfort, J. A. Wilson, T. Jacobsen, W. A. Irwin; Gage (University of Chicago Press); pp. 401; \$4.40.

This volume is a collection of essays by members of the staff of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. In the opening chapter Professor and Mrs. Frankfort present the basic point of view from which all the contributors have proceeded. In brief the thesis is this: primitive man conceived of the surrounding universe in purely personal terms, i.e. in an "I-Thou" relationship, in contradistinction to modern man's objective, scientific view of nature as an "I-It" relationship. With this as a starting-point, they delineate ancient man's thought in the various categories of causality, space and time.

In the following ten chapters, Professors Wilson, Jacobsen and Irwin apply this point of view to the cultures of Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Hebrews respectively. In each case the authors seek to interpret ancient speculative thought concerning the nature of the universe, the function of the state and the values of the good life. In a concluding chapter, the Frankforts summarize the findings of the foregoing essays, and trace the subsequent emancipation of thought from myth, a movement initiated by the Hebrews, but finally achieved only by the Greeks. The reviewer heartily endorses both the thesis and the contents of this stimulating and scholarly volume.

Ronald J. Williams

THE SECURITIES BUSINESS COMES OF AGE: Elizabeth Frazer; Library Associates (Leonia, N.J.); pp. 58; \$3.75.

Regulation of the security market and those dealing professionally in it has been a difficult proposition, especially on this continent. The 1929 collapse brought the over-the-counter traders of securities into question generally and many of them into disrepute. The Securities Act of 1933 and the Securities and Exchange Commission set up by Congress in 1934 sought to regulate the entire traffic in stocks and bonds. This was much easier when applied to the organized Stock Exchanges, but it was much more difficult to deal effectively with the "investment dealers" who sprawl all over the continent and do a much larger volume of business in new and unseasoned as well as seasoned but unlisted stocks and bonds. This short volume in easily-understood language tells the story of the develop-

ment of the internal regulation of this business under the provisions of the Maloney Act passed by Congress in 1938. The book is interesting, but valuable largely to those investors dealing with over-the-counter investment dealers in the United States where the regulations only apply.

L.E.W.

COUNSELOR X: Ralph Gross; The Hobson Book Press, (New York); pp. 53; \$1.90.

Having decided that the root of the world's troubles is money and the "money mentality," the author imports "Counselor X" from Mars to make this "discovery" and to proclaim it in an address before the Congress of the United States. The body of the book is a chronological series of excerpts from the diary of Counselor X. The Martian's language at times makes for very difficult reading, when he says: "The 'national or public debt,' now stripped of its money myth, is now recognized for what it is, namely, half of an over-all double statistical record of, call it work, service or just plain human energy already rendered over a period of time." The world will likely stick to the "money mentality"!

This is a faulty attempt to dramatize a case for the well-known demand for a debt-free economy. The result is to confound a simple idea in psychiatric and inept language.

L.E.W.

KILVERT'S DIARY 1870-1879; William Plomer, Editor; Clarke, Irwin (Jonathan Cape); pp. 350; \$2.75.

For the last nine of his thirty-nine years the Rev. Francis Kilvert kept a diary, partly, he writes, "because life appears to me such a curious and wonderful thing that it almost seems a pity that even such a humble and uneventful life as mine should pass altogether away without some such record as this, and partly too because I think the record may amuse and interest some who come after me." In it he records the richness of rural character, the pathetic patient suffering, the quiet heroism and cheerfulness, the comedy, the sturdy humor, the earthiness. He sets forth his sensitive response to the changing beauty of the border country. He sees beauty and terror in nature, beauty and suffering in life—and always he sees with the sharp awareness of the poet, and with the love which is moved by beauty and by suffering. The diary is a valuable document for the historian; it is even more valuable as the record of a fine spirit.

F.E.L.P.

I GIVE YOU MY WORD: Ivor Brown; Clarke, Irwin & Co.; pp. 144; \$1.75.

Third in a series of little essays on English words, some rare and found only in dialect or out-of-the-way books, others ordinary but with interesting associations, histories, and quotations. Those whose tastes run to literary and linguistic curiosities will find much that is new and interesting in it. The writer is Scottish, and his humor is appropriately pawky, as his title suggests.

N. F.

IGLOO FOR THE NIGHT: Mrs. Tom Manning; University of Toronto Press; pp. 234; \$3.00.

This is an account of Mrs. Manning's life with her explorer husband on the west coast of Baffin Island during the first two years of their marriage. Although previously inexperienced in the North, she does not let the hardships of such a life obscure her faculty for observation and her narrative of their day-to-day experiences is always interesting.

It is a pity that so fine a story should have been marred by such poor book-making. The University of Toronto Press has no reason to be proud of this job. Furthermore, for a book of this nature, it is inexcusable that the blurb-writer should have been allowed to invent a new species of goose.

D. M. LeBourdais.

rum

r the
1938.
e in-
rs in

W.

Press,

es is
ports
nd to
nited
es of
ian's
when
of its
half
ser-
ver a
oney

well-
is to
ge.
W.

litor;

ancis
pears
eems
mine
d as
muse
s the
ring,
urdy
onse
sees
life
poet,
uffer-
n; it

P.

in &

some
thers
and
uistic
The
y, as
F.

ersity

olorer
first
peri-
such
ative

arred
Press
for a
riter
oose.
is.